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ABSTRACT

This paper explores historical, behavioral, and cultural aspects of cross-cultural assessment as background to a discussion of alternative approaches to I.Q. testing as a way of identifying gifted minority children. Chapter I, "Cross Cultural Assessment in Historical Perspective," is a historical look at cross-racial attitudes on intelligence and innate ability. Chapter II, "Classical Failure and Success in the Assessment of People of Color," historically reviews accounts of black intelligence. Chapter III, "Fundamental Considerations for Cross Cultural Assessment," discusses the underlying assumptions and styles of assessment, and their effects on assessment results. Chapter IV, "Perspectives on Style: A Basic Foundation for an Alternative Approach to Assessment," covers differences in behavioral and assessment approaches. The Atomistic-Objective behavioral style is contrasted with the Synthetic-Personal style; and two assessment approaches, one that asks "Do you know what I know?" and another that asks "What do you know?" are compared. Chapter V, "Basic Behavioral Styles Illustrated," explores the expression of behavioral style in religion, music, and language. Chapter VI, "The 'Who' and the 'O': Contextually Situated Vehicles for the Assessment of Pupil Potential," and Chapter VII, "The Gifted Child and the School's Implications of Behavioral Styles," complete the volume. (SB)

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Alternatives to IQ Testing:
An Approach to the Identification of Gifted "Minority" Children

Asa G. Hilliard, III

San Francisco State University

June 30, 1976

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A Final Report

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And a Little Child Shall Lead Them

Psychometrist: "Juan, can you tell me more about it?"

Juan: (After a long pause.) "Well, teacher, if you want me to tell you more about it you're just going to have to ask me a better question."

(From an actual interview with a gifted Chicano child as reported by Olivia Martinez.)

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to express our strongest appreciation to the San Francisco Unified School District, to the Staff of the Gifted Program, and especially to the participating children, parents, and teachers for their support and cooperation during the conduct of this study.

Special thanks are due as well to the hard-working staff of this Project, and to the consultants, the majority of whom offered their service or advice without compensation.

Formally or informally, several hundred persons have contributed in a major way to the conceptualizations presented here. We cannot name them all. However, we are most appreciative for their thoughts. A special word must be said about the timely and insightful descriptive formulation of Yolanda Jenkins of our project staff. We were struggling to get a precise label for one of the behavioral styles. It was Ms. Jenkins who contributed many materials and ideas about "synthesis" and "synergy" which served to capture the essence of our description. Unfortunately, we did not have the time to follow this path far enough. However, it is certain that Ms. Jenkins' own future research will provide important fresh theoretical underpinnings for an elaboration of the "synthetic-personal" style, particularly as it is related to the Afro-American experience.

Finally, I offer thanks to my colleagues in the School of Education, Associate Dean Metta Zahorsky, Associate Dean Jack Lynch, Graduate Coordinator Paul Hale, Administrative Assistant Edy Montes, and to the School of Education Secretary, Elizabeth Halley for their patience, support and understanding during the "rough spots" over the past year.

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When we look back on past periods of history, we are often confronted with inconsistencies and blind spots in human thinking, which to us are so palpable that we are almost astonished out of belief. We find it hard to credit the inescapable fact that they remained, for decades or for centuries, completely invisible not only to the generality of men but also to the choicest and wisest spirits of the age. Such are the Athenian emphasis on liberty--with the system of slavery accepted as a matter of course; the notion that the truth could be ascertained and justice done with the help of trial by battle; the Calvinist doctrine of pre-election to eternal damnation; the co-existence of a Christian ethic with an economic doctrine of ruthless laissez-faire; and no doubt there are other and better examples.

I believe that the blind spot which posterity will find most startling in the last hundred years or so of Western civilization,is, that it had, on the one hand, a religion which differed from all others in its acceptance of time, and of a particular point in time, as a cardinal element in its faith; that it had, on the other hand, a picture in its mind of the history of the earth and man as an evolutionary process; and that it neither saw nor supposed any connection whatever between the two.

(Barfield, Owen. Saving the Appearances: A Study in Idolatry)

"By encapsulated I mean claiming to have the whole of truth when one has only part of it. By encapsulated I mean looking at life partially and proceeding to make statements concerning the whole of life, and by encapsulated I mean living partially because one's daily activities are based on a worldview or philosophy of life which is meager next to the larger meaning of existence."

(Joseph R. Royce, The Encapsulated Man)

"It should first of all be evident that any examination of Black culture in America is necessarily an examination of the relationship between Black and White Americans. This relationship, the images "Black" and "White" that Americans hold of each other has shaped the cultural evolution of all Americans."

(Ben Sidran, Black Talk)

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INTRODUCTION

Work began on this project one year ago, following the award of a grant from the California State Department of Education. The purpose was to "refine a selection process for the identification of gifted minority students." At that time, the San Francisco Unified School District had recently begun to use a check list of characteristics designed to identify gifted ("creative") students, which had been developed based on the work of Dr. Paul Torrance. The use of this check list in the San Francisco Public Schools had resulted in the identification of an increased number of "minority" group students. However, the San Francisco Unified School District Director of Gifted Programs and members of his staff had expressed the feeling that many gifted "minority" group students had not been identified yet, even with the use of this check list as a pre-screening device.

Our work then began as an attempt to evaluate existing pre-screening procedures and instrument to determine what modifications, if any, might be made in order to identify gifted "minority" students who could then be assessed further by the regular assessment processes.

In order to begin the task, an extensive review of appropriate literature was conducted. In addition, in depth interviews with practicing professionals who work with "minority" children directly on an on-going basis, were conducted in order to get their evaluation of the existing pre-screening instrument as well as their suggestions regarding procedures, techniques, and behavioral indicators for identifying gifted "minority" children.

It became clear early in the year, that the problem we faced was much more complex than it had appeared to be, and that a simple revision of a pre-screening instrument would be insufficient. Our review of the literature indicated, as is generally known, that there is no commonly accepted definition of intelligence, and therefore no commonly accepted definition of a person with "superior intelligence," or in other words, a "gifted person." As we proceeded to review the literature and to interview practicing professionals, it became even more obvious that a fundamental problem exists when it comes to the assessment of different cultural populations which could not be solved simply by changing from a standardized IQ test to a standard check list or observation scheme for looking at children of color. Nor could any of these be adapted by any simple process. The fundamental problem is that virtually all assessment procedures operate on the implicit assumption of a model of a "universal" or "standard person." We infer this from the fact that no known assessment system takes into account either the cultural history or the personal history of these individuals whose "intelligence" is being assessed. All known generally utilized assessment devices or systems for the measurement of "intelligence" ignore basic cultural contributions to patterns of human behavior. Our investigations indicated that assessment specialists could proceed in this way only by taking liberties with the truth.

Any hope of having in one year's time, from such a small study as this, an instrument to select "gifted minority students" which is valid, reliable, has instructional utility, and which would remedy all the deficits of existing intellectual assessments, is impossible, to say the least. We had assumed before the investigation began that cultural differences were of primary importance in any assessment process. It became even more clear during the investigation just how important these cultural differences were. Neither assessment nor intelligence occurs in the abstract or in a vacuum. Both are situated in, and derive their meaning from, a full cultural context. Consequently, only by the explication of the specific manifestations of behavior within that cultural context, can the assessment of human behavior take on meaning. Thus, only in this arena can "intellectual superiority" be truly evaluated.

In San Francisco alone, there are more than twenty different languages which are spoken as the primary language of its citizens. One could hardly imagine how many different cultural groups there are, in addition, within the city. Certainly, if we take the nation as a whole, the number would be greatly expanded. Therefore, the task of designing an assessment process which would take into account, as is necessary, the varied cultural experiences of students to be assessed is overwhelming; yet, these varied cultural experiences are the raw materials through which mental ability or aptitudes are expressed. However, it is possible to describe and demonstrate an approach to the assessment of pupil behavior which does proceed from the assumption of both uniqueness and commonality in cultural backgrounds. Therefore, the task here has been to describe an approach to valid assessment which builds upon and grows out of a recognition of the only possible experience which children can have, which is, oddly enough, their own experience. However, it is impossible here to illustrate this process with every conceivable cultural group--or even with several of the representative cultural groups in the San Francisco Bay Area. Therefore, because of the principal author's own expertise and cultural background, Afro-American, the predominant or major attention and model for assessment will utilize this cultural experience as the primary group of reference. Nonetheless, the general approach can be applied to any cultural group experiences.

In view of the current state of assessment in practice, it will be necessary in this report to dwell in some detail upon relevant literature and a rationale for an approach to the assessment of culturally different groups. It is important that certain documentation of the unique experience of a cultural group be presented as a model, and that documentation of relevant assessment activities associated with that cultural experience be presented. This will necessitate a somewhat lengthy, ponderous, and multifaceted presentation of the results of the study.

An instrument for use in pre-screening and identification of "gifted minority" students has been developed, piloted, and refined as a part of this study. However, a major part of this study is the treatment of the literature, the synthesis of data from interviews with practicing clinicians, and the development of a rationale. The pre-screening "instrument" is merely a small part of a much larger and more complex process, and is itself more of a guide to observation than a "test" in the traditional sense.

Chapter I

Cross Cultural Assessment in Historical Perspective

In 1921, Louis Terman of Stanford University, who became President of the American Psychological Association, and who is known as the "father of the Stanford-Binet," expressed the following thoughts:

> A low level of intelligence is very, very common among Spanish-Indian and Mexican families of the Southwest and also among Negroes. Their dullness seems to be racial, or at least inherent from the family stocks from which they come...The whole question of racial differences in mental traits will have to be taken up anew and by experimental methods. The writer predicts that when this is done there will be discovered enormously significant racial differences in general intelligence, differences which cannot be wiped out by any scheme of mental culture.
>
> Children of this group should be segregated in special classes... They cannot master abstractions but they can often be made efficient workers...There is no possibility at the present in convincing society that they should not be allowed to reproduce, although from a eugenic point of view they constitute a grave problem because of their unusual prolific breeding. (Kamin, 1974, p. 6)

Another noted scholar, Karl Brigham, who was affiliated with Princeton University, became the Chairman of the Galton Society--an association concerned with eugenics--also had strong views on ethnicity and intelligence:

> The Nordics are...rulers, organizers, and aristocrats...individualistic, self reliant, and jealous of their personal freedom... As a result, they are usually Protestants...The Alpine race is always and everywhere a race of peasants...The Alpine is the perfect slave, the ideal serf...the unstable temperament and lack of coordinating and reasoning power so often found among the Irish... We have no separate intelligence distribution for the Jews...our army sample of immigrants from Russia is at least one-half Jewish... our figures, then, would rather tend to disprove the popular belief that the Jew is intelligent...he has the head form, stature, and color of his Slavic neighbors. He is an Alpine Slav.
>
> (Kamin, 1974, p. 21)

Karl Brigham's views were important as he also served as a developer of the Scholastic Aptitude Test and served on the College Entrance Examination Board as Secretary. Kamin (1974) has done a masterful job of describing the context within which the development of intelligence testing has taken place in the United States of America. As historical information, Kamin's data and perspective are critically important. However, it must be kept in mind that the question of "race" and intelligence continues to be a topic of high interest among Americans even today. At the 1976 American Psychological Association National Convention, University of California, Berkeley, Professor Arthur Jensen's presentation (Jensen, 1975) drew one of the largest crowds of the Convention.

It is hard for one who reads the contemporary mainstream of behavioral science literature to realize that the opinions expressed above are relatively new in human history. It is important, therefore, that some attention be paid to historical opinions which differ widely from those expressed by some of the nationally known representatives of our scholarly establishment. Before the advent of Europe's colonial period and the development of intelligence tests, the ethnic or "racial" dullness of people of color which was noted by Professor Terman, seems not to have existed. In the first recorded contacts that Europeans had with people of different colors, the situation was just the opposite in other parts of the world:

> We may also take the example of Pythagoras. This great philosopher, while still a youth, if we may credit Iamblichus, associated himself with Thales of Miletus from whom he gained a considerable knowledge of the Mysteries. Thales, being at that time of great age and infirm of body, apologized for his incomplete understanding of the sacred doctrines and urged Pythagoras to visit Egypt, the Motherland of Wisdom. Iamblichus wrote that Thales confessed that his own reputation for wisdom was derived from the instruction of these priests; but that he was neither naturally nor by exercise imbued with those excellent prerogatives which are so visibly displayed in the person of Pythagoras. Thales, therefore, gladly announced to Pythagoras, from all these circumstances, that he would become the wisest and most divine of all men, if he associated with these Egyptian priests. Iamblichus then describes a journey which Pythagoras made to Egypt, how enroute he was initiated into the mysteries of several nations, and at last arriving at his destination, was received by the Egyptian priests with respect and affection. He associated with the Egyptian philosophers for some time and after demonstrating by his sincerity and concentration that he was worthy to associate with the initiated, he was at last admitted into the secrets of their ancient order.
>
> He spent, therefore, observes Iamblichis, two and twenty years in Egypt, in Adyta of temples, astronomizing and geometrizing, and was initiated, not in an artificial or casual manner, in all mysteries of the Gods. (Hall, 1971, p. 57)

George G. M. James (1954) also points out that the immigration of the Greeks to Egypt for the purpose of their education began as a result of the Persian invasion of 525 B.C. and continued until Greeks gained possession of that land and access to the royal library through the conquest of Alexander the Great. James points out that Egypt was the greatest vacation center of the world and that it was visited extensively by the Greeks. No evidence of an assessment of the Egyptians by the Greeks indicates any awareness of "genetic" or "intellectual deficits." "...Reference must again be made to Plato in the Timaeus who tells us that Greek aspirants to wisdom visited Egypt for initiation, and that the priests of Sais used to refer to them as 'children in the mysteries.'" (James, 1954)

> There is in Egypt, said Critias, at the head of the delta, where the Nile divides, a district called the Saitic. The chief city of the district, from which King Amasis came, is called Sais. The chief goddess of the inhabitants is called in Egyptian, Neith, in Greek (according to them) Athena; and they are very friendly to the Athenians and claim some relationship to them. Solon came there on his travels and was highly honoured by them, and in the course of making inquiries from those priests who were most knowledgeable on the subject found that both he and all his countrymen were almost entirely ignorant about antiquity. And wishing to lead them on to talk about early times, he embarked on an account of the earliest events known here, telling them about Phoroneus, said to be the first man, and Niobe, and how Deucalion and Pyrrha survived the flood and who were their descendants, and trying by reckoning up the generations to calculate how long ago the events in question had taken place. And a very old priest said to him, 'Oh Solon, Solon, you Greeks are all children, and there's no such thing as an old Greek.' 'What do you mean by that?' inquired Solon. 'You are all young in mind,' came the reply: 'you have no belief rooted in old tradition and no knowledge hoary with age...But in our temples we have preserved from earliest times a written record of any great or splendid achievement or notable event which has come to our ears whether it occurred in your part of the world or here or anywhere else; whereas with you and others, writing and the other necessities of civilization have only just been developed when the periodic scourge of the deluge descends, and spares none but the unlettered and uncultured, so that you have to begin again like children, in complete ignorance of what happened in our part of the world or in yours in early times.'
>
> (Plato, 1965, p. 35)

It is important, in light of contemporary arguments about "intelligence," "IQ" and genetics or "race," to note that the Egyptians and Ethiopians of that ancient world which was visited by early Greek scholars were Black African people. (Blavatsky, 1972), (Diop, 1974), (Higgins, 1836), (Jackson, 1974), (Massey, 1907), (Snowden, 1971)

The true verdict of history was announced by the ancients:

> ...The civilized Ethiopians, however, according to Diodorus, were the first to honor the gods whose favor they enjoyed, as evident by the fact that they had been free from foreign invasion. These Ethiopians were not only pioneers in religions, Diodorus informs us, but also originators of many customs practiced in Egypt, for the Egyptians were colonists of the Ethiopians. From these Ethiopians, the Egyptians derived, for example, beliefs concerning their kings, burial practices, shapes of statues, and forms of letters. Further in Diodorus' accounts of Ethiopians who lived near the Nile, derived from Agatharchides, he may be recording a Ptolemaic description of the "pure" Negro. The majority of the Nile dwelling Ethiopians, according to Diodorus, were black, flat

> nosed and ulotrichous...The image of just Ethiopians, beloved of the gods, persists in the empire...Lucian evokes, on several occasions, the divine visits to the Ethiopians, obviously echoing Homer; he says, 'the gods are away from home across the ocean no doubt visiting the blameless Ethiopians; the gods are accustomed to feasting with the Ethiopians continually, at times, even self invited'; and in commenting on the gods' practice of selling their blessing, Lucian notes that the Ethiopians are to be considered fortunate if Zeus is really compensating for the hospitality which he and other gods received when they enjoyed a twelve day Ethiopian feast...an appropriate summary of the classical tradition of divine love for the Ethiopians and of the ancient records of Ethiopian justice appear in the words of a sixth century A.D. grammarian like Lactantius Placidus: 'Certainly they (the Ethiopians) are loved by the gods because of justice. This even Homer indicates in the first book by the fact that Jupiter frequently leaves heaven and feasts with them because of their justice and the equity of their customs for the Ethiopians are said to be the justest men and for that reason gods leave their abode frequently to visit them.'

Chancellor Williams (1974) points out many of the great inventions of the Egyptians and Ethiopians. For example, the invention of writing. All the ancient historians agreed that Black Africa was a wonderful place. A Greek proverb which was preserved by Aristotle and Pliny goes as follows: "Africa is always producing something new." (Snowden, 1970) In fact, the picture which later Europeans were to paint of Black Africa and of other parts of the world were so much at variance with the truth and with historical records, that in 1793, a famous European (French) of great conscience, Volney (1950), was to write:

> There, a people now forgotten, discovered, while others were yet barbarians, the elements of the arts and sciences. A race of men now rejected from society for their sable skin and frizzled hair, founded on the study of the laws of nature, those civil and religious systems which still govern the universe." (pp. 16-17)

The situation was the same with the rest of the world's people. The original documents of the early travels of Europeans indicate clearly that they regarded the people they met with respect, frequently even with awe. Marco Polo met civilizations intact. The great Khan was not "primitive," nor were his people. Herodotus, Pliny, Pythagorus, Aristotle, Plato, etc. met an Egyptian and Ethiopian civilization intact. Respectively, Cortez and Captain Cook met an Inca civilization and a South Sea Island culture intact. In all but the latter, not only were there civilizations, but also high cultures complete with libraries and outstanding systems of higher education. In cases of the South Sea cultures, although "non-literate" at the time, there were indigenous systems of higher education which produced, among other things, navigators (Lewis, 1972), (Goldson, 1972), (Kyseller and Bunton, 1969). These navigators had to become highly skilled in oceanography, astronomy, ornithology, and meteorology in order to travel. Moreover, they accumulated their technical knowledge over thousands of years and, obviously, were able to transmit and to improve upon that knowledge. Where are those books? Where is the knowledge compendium of these "savage" and "primitive" people? How did the knowledge of the hieroglyphic writings of these "primitive" people get"lost"?

The answers to these questions are related to the problem of cross-cultural assessment today. If "hard data" has been ignored, lost, or destroyed in the past, how can the present be seen as different? To a greater extent than ever before, an honest study of history will reveal that "underdeveloped" or "primitive" man was as much a creation out of the imaginations of ethnocentric observers as out of true experience.

What happened? How is it that, even in 1976, much behavioral research is conducted apparently in total ignorance of historical perspectives on cross-cultural beliefs about "aptitude," or of the history of "primitive" or "underdeveloped" people? How has so much scholarly work been done comparing the non-existent "races" of people?

> By the end of the century, hardly a scientist questioned the necessity of doing so. The terms of reference then had been accepted by even such educated Negroes as W. E. B. DuBois (speaking of the sectors of mankind). It would have taken a man of exceptional innocence to ask "what were they classifying?" Whoever wished to read could discover that readily enough. The books described and even pictured the racial traits of Laplanders, Magyars, and Japanese, Tutons and Hotentots, Anglo-Saxons and Slavs. In tables of impressive statistics carried to two or more decimal places could be found exact measurement of these people's social, physical and cultural qualities. All that was clearly and definitely proved.
>
> The question that was not asked was nonetheless significant. What were they classifying? Color? Nationality? Religion? Language? Why in the United States, for example, should the Negro have been one category and the Jews another and the Germans still another? If color set one group apart, why did it not unite the rest, or to put the same question in another form, how did the classifier know that in the case of the Negro it was color that was the distinguishing feature and in the case of the Jew, religion, and in the case of the German, language?
>
> (Handlin, 1957, p. 71)

Europe, during its colonial period, needed to develop a justification for conquest and exploitation (Rodney, 1974). It was during these centuries, particularly during the eighteenth century that the ideology of "race" and the myth of "race" was invented and the system of "racism" emerged (Biddis, 1970; Stoddard, 1920). In spite of the fact that the concept of "race" has been thoroughly demolished by competent scholarship (Montagu, 1964; Montagu, 1974), there still stand, virtually unquestioned in the literature of most behavioral "science," "scholarly" studies of differences between and among "races." Even in 1976, a noted scholar such as Arthur Jensen conducts "scientific" studies of the differences between "Blacks" and "Whites," while having no scientific definition of either "Black" or "White." How then does such an eminent scholar identify his "races" or colors and establish his groups for comparison?

More scientific scholars of history were never fooled into thinking falsely or believing in the myth. In general, these scholars were patient observers of the people in whom they were interested:

> Whoever begins with the Mythos as a product of the 'savage' mind as savages are known today is fatally in error...A race so degraded or underdeveloped as the Bushmen have their hidden wisdom, their magic, with an esoteric interpretation of their dramatic dances and pantomime by which they more or less preserve and perpetuate the mythical meaning of their religious mysteries. What we do really find is that the inner-African and other aborigines still continue to talk and think their thoughts in the same figures of speech that are made visible by art, such as is yet extant among the Bushmen; that the Egyptians also preserved the primitive conscious together with a clue to the most ancient knowledge, with its symbolic methods of communication and that they converted the living types into the later lithograms and hieroglyphics. (Massey, 1973, pp. 29-32)

Massey's British countrymen did not always hear him. There are interesting stories of "experiments" being conducted in England and in other parts of Europe to determine if Black people had the "capability of learning" as other people did. European scholarship was literally emerging from the Dark Ages. There are many stories of the success of these "experiments":

> Not all Black people in England in the eighteenth century were domestic servants, some youths became apprentices. By 1731, there were so many of them that the Lord Mayor and Alderman of London passed an ordinance making it an offense to teach Blacks a trade...
>
> There was also a belief during the years of slavery that Blacks were not capable of absorbing the education of the White man; that they were his intellectual inferiors. Colonists were always quick to compare slaves to apes. It was for this reason that a Jamaican, Francis Williams, was chosen as a guinea pig in a most unusual experiment: to prove that a Black man has the same intellectual facilities as a White man. The man who decided to try this experiment was the Duke of Monteu who lived in Jamaica in the very early years of the eighteenth century. He chose Francis Williams because he noticed that the boy had a quick, lively intelligence.
>
> Francis Williams was born in Kingston, Jamaica in 1702, the youngest of three sons of John and Dorothy Williams who were free Blacks. The Duke sent him to England where he began his studies in private schools. Afterwards, he entered Cambridge University. There he specialized in mathematics, literature, and Latin, finally graduating with a bachelor's degree. When Williams left Cambridge, he went to London where he was accepted in the literary and fashionable Georgian society, becoming quite famous, too, for a ballad which he composed called, 'Welcome, Welcome Debtor.' It was so much in vogue in London that some minor composers, irritated at seeing a Black do so well, attempted, without success, to claim it as their own...

> The Fullah slave, Job Ben Solomon became one of the Arabic translators of his time. In the early 1730's, he worked in London in close collaboration with Sir Hans Sloane, botanist and doctor. One of his scholastic feats was to write three copies of the Koran from memory. After he had finished working on the first copy, he did not need to refer to it while writing the other two.
>
> (Scobie, 1972, pp. 23, 27 and 32)

Still another example follows:

> Francis Williams went on teaching in a Spanish town until his death in 1772, at the age of 70, but he was not the only Black scholar who, during the years of African slavery, showed that slaves could master not only English and Latin, but other difficult languages as well. There was Anthony William Amo who was born on the coast of Guinea. He studied at the University of Whitenburg at Halle, Saxony, and wrote and spoke fluent Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Dutch, French, and German. He obtained his doctorate degree for a philosophical work called, The Want of Feeling. The second book by Amo was published in 1794. It was also philosophical and dealt with the sensations which involved the mind and the organic workings of the body.
>
> Another slave scholar, Jacobus Elija Capitein, studied at the University of Leyden, earning a degree in philosophy in 1740. He published two works: one a treatise on the calling of the Gentiles, de Vocatione Ethinocorum, which ran into three editions; and the other a book of sermons in Dutch. Juan Latino, a Black, was a professor of poetry at the University of Granada in Spain. His remarkable book on Don Juan of Austria at the Battle of Le Panto, was published in Granada in 1573 and won his respect as a scholar. It is one of the most prized rare books in the world today. (Scobie, 1972, p. 31)

The history and treatment of African slaves in America, and the attitude toward them, parallels that which emerged in Britain. Therefore, predictably, "experiments" were tried in the United States:

> The Negroes stride toward literacy under the influence of special education certainly vindicated his confidence in the program (public schools).
>
> Less than half the South's Negro population ten years of age and over could read and write in 1890. But the literacy rate climbed rapidly after that time and by 1930, slightly over four-fifths of the Negroes were literate. On the average, the Southern Negroes' literacy increased 93.8% over the forty year period. When compared with the 32% experienced by the region's total population during this time, the Negroes' progress was phenomenal.
>
> (Bullock, 1970, pp. 171, 172)

The performance of Afro-Americans in the United States, when given the opportunity to learn, never bore out the negative predictions of the racists in our history.

> Since the statistics indicate an almost phenomenal rise in the literacy rate of Negroes from 1870 to 1890 (it rose from 18.6% in 1870 to 30% in 1880 to 42.9% in 1890) and since these statistics are for Negroes in the nation as a whole, they reflect a probably greater rate of increase in the North than in the former slave states. Since, however, 90.3% of all Negroes lived in the South in 1890, the increase there must have been considerable. How much of this was due to public education and how much to private schools would be difficult, if not impossible to ascertain. This question is particularly pertinent when one recalls that many of the teachers of the public schools were trained in private schools. (Logan, 1954, p. 68)

Sometimes rapid learning of African slaves took place by accident.

> A house servant learned through necessity how to distinguish among the different newspapers his master ordered him to select, and slaves who served as foremen had to learn enough to keep a daily record. More generally, however, some slave children gained literacy through the 'play schools' that grew out of the social relations maintained with their owner's children. Though starting in play, these schools were often taken seriously by both 'teacher' and 'pupil.' Such was the case on a Mississippi plantation when a planter's son aspired to make scholars out of some of his father's slaves. Five of these slaves learned to read so well that they became ministers. (Bullock, 1970, p. 10)

Many White teachers in the United States at the time knew the myth to be false.

> Tradition had set no sharp unfavorable image of the Negro in their minds. Their faith in his educability was unaffected by his previous condition. With abundant zeal, they often wrote as did Sarah G. Stanley, a teacher of the American Missionary Association, 'The progress of the scholars is in all cases creditable and in some cases, remarkable...How richly God has endowed them and how beautifully their natures would have been expanded under a tender and gentle culture.' (Bullock, 1970, p. 24)

In spite of these and many other similar experiences, the large majority of White Americans either forgot or ignored what they knew or what had already been demonstrated.

An examination of history, therefore, reveals that the myth of the "intellectual deficits" of Afro-Americans and other minorities is a matter of relatively recent belief in history, and further is a conception which often was not shared by those who had direct, empathic, open minded contact with people of color. Consequently, it is apparent that these beliefs originated with the needs of the colonial period with its territorial expansion and slavery. No understanding of our current problems in educational assessment is possible until it is understood that these problems are situated in a historical and cultural tradition. This tradition has included, among other relevant things, the systematic destruction of information about people which permits the myths of genetic inferiority to be fabricated. As recently as the present century, some of our most outstanding scholars have been actively involved in the production of these myths. (Schragg and Divoky, 1975), (Kamin, 1974), (Ryan, 1971), (Thomas and Sillen, 1972). Even today, remnants of the past remain to confuse and to confound professional practice. Only through a heightened awareness can repeats of past performances be avoided today. Accuracy and realism in assessment demands an historical perspective, an interdisciplinary contemporary perspective, and a multiculturally sophisticated perspective as well.

CHAPTER II

Classical Failure and Success in the Assessment of People of Color

The history of cross-cultural assessment in the United States has been one which has been notable for an inordinate procession of colossal blunders and a fair share of incompetence to boot. What is before us is more than just a matter of scholars disagreeing over the interpretation of data. Particularly in the area of cross-cultural assessment, there frequently are no real data to interpret, even though pseudo-data may have that appearance. It is important to illustrate here in some detail the kinds of gross errors which continue to characterize "respectable" behavioral research and lay opinion in cross-cultural settings.

Interestingly enough, one of the earliest errors in cross-cultural assessment was one in which White Europeans, among others, were misassessed by Africans and Afro-Europeans.

> The Moors, like the Greeks and Romans, had a very low opinion of the Whites to the North. Had they not beaten them often on the battle field with inferior numbers? Aristotle, Cicero, Caesar, Tacitus, Constantine the Great, and Saint Jerome hadn't thought much of them and they hadn't probably advanced as much in the ten centuries since. Said of Andalusia (1029-1071) thought Nordics no higher than the primitive Blacks of the African interior. He wrote,'They are nearer animals than men...they are by nature unthinking and their manners crude. Their bellys protrude; their color is white and their hair is long. In sharpness and delicacy of spirit and in intellectual perspicacity, they are nil. Ignorance, lack of reasoning power, and boorishness are common among them.'
>
> Of the Central African Blacks, he wrote "they have hot tempers and excitable manners; their skin is black and their hair wooly. Turbulence, stupidity, and ignorance are common among them."
>
> Modern white historians agree with this Moorish writer, Michaud and his History of the Crusades, which describes the Prussians of the thirteenth century as being just a few grades above savagery. Draper says that the palaces of the then rulers of Germany, France, and England were, in comparison with those of the Moorish rulers of Spain, "scarcely better than the stables" of the Moors. Lancelot Hogben says, "Moorish scholars of Salato, Cordova, and Seville were writing treatises on spherical trigonometry when the mathematical syllabus of the Nordic University of Oxford stopped abruptly at the fifth proposition of the book of Euclid."...Proud white knights thought Negroes such worthy foes that they placed them in their family crests and welcomed those who became Christians as allies and social equals.
>
> (Rogers, 1952, p. 60-61)

Even among the ranks of scholars in our Nation, few are aware that many people of color who are now considered "deprived," "underdeveloped," "genetically inferior," or "primitive," have, at various points in history looked upon Europeans in the same way.

> The final undoing of the Dusky Moors was their underestimation of the menace of the fair barbarians to the North of the Pyrenees. A Moslem historian in the eleventh century referred to these people as barbarians with big bellies, pale skin, long and lank hair, and declared: 'They lack keenness of understanding and clarity of intelligence, and are overcome by ignorance and foolishness, blindness, and stupidity.' Another Moorish scholar, Said of Toledo, in the thirteenth century, spoke of the same group of people in the following words: 'They are cold of temperament and never reach maturity, they are of great stature and of a white color but they lack all sharpness of wit and penetration of intellect.' (Jackson, 1972, p. 276)

In later times, we have examples which show clearly the connection between the awakened European's motivation for expansion and domination, and the subsequent assessment of subjects to be dominated as "inferiors." Sometimes the myth makers proceeded with deliberate care to produce "inferiority."

> What was the intellectual level of these slaves? The planters, hating them, called them by every opprobrious name. 'The Negroes' says a memoir published in 1789, 'are unjust, cruel, barbarous, half-human, treacherous, deceitful, thieves, drunkards, proud, lazy, unclean, shameless, jealous to fury and cowards.' It was by sentiments such as these that they strove to justify the abnormal cruelties they practiced, and it took great pains that the Negro should remain the brute beast they wanted him to be. 'The safety of the wife demands that we keep the Negroes in the most profound ignorance. I have reached the stage of believing firmly that one must treat the Negroes as one treats beasts.' Such is the opinion of the governor of Martinique in a letter addressed to the minister and such was the opinion of all colonists except for the Jews who spared no energy in making Israelites of their slaves; the majority of the colonists religiously kept all instruction, religious or otherwise, away from the slaves.
> (James, 1963, p. 17)

A close review of history (Burgman, 1969), (Bullock, 1970) shows clearly gross instances of myth making tied to the self interest of Euro-Americans as a long term pattern. The problem was pervasive and included all people of color.

> Along with hostility came contempt and prejudice as exemplified by numerous viciously racist statements included in works about California written during the period after 1849. Even the more balanced writer such as H. H. Bancroft could write in the 1880's that, 'We do not know why the Digger Indians of California were so shabbily treated by nature; why, with such fair surroundings, they were made so much lower in the scale of intelligence than their neighbors.' (Forbes, 1968, p. 59)

Recent studies in East Africa have uncovered some dramatic information about the aptitude of Black African children and document the gross errors of assessors who see color and intelligence as related. However, very little attention is paid to these studies which run completely counter to the "scientific" hypotheses and conclusions of such scholars as Arthur Jensen and Richard Hernstein.

> Extensive work on the physiological development of young children has been done by Marcelle Gerber in East Africa, mainly among the Baganda, while studying the effect of Kwashiorkor on infants. Gerber also collected data on a normal growth pattern of African children. During this time she became aware of the fact that African infants were better developed physically than their European counterparts. Her description of the African child is paraphrased: 'On the first day the African child is able to hold his head while in a sitting position and is able to focus his gaze. At four months he sits without support and can lean forward and regain his balance. He stands upright on his own at eight months and is able to walk at ten months. At eleven months the child can pick up a small object using his thumb and index finger. At fourteen months he can run.'
>
> Gerber found that the African child not only exhibits rapid physical development but is also able to communicate with others at a younger age. He seems to have greater ability to adapt himself to the objects around him and use them quicker. At the age of six months the African child is two or three months ahead of his European counterpart.
> (Evans, 1968, pp. 29-30)

Other dramatic examples which do not follow the predictions for people of color and which are based upon assessments of intelligence, which are derived from existing standardized IQ tests and biased behavioral science, are very interesting. They deserve our closer scrutiny.

Lorenzo Turner (1969), for example, followed a number of "expert linguists" in the study of the Gullah or Geechee dialect which is spoken by Afro-Americans and their descendants along the Atlantic coast from Georgetown, South Carolina, to the northern boundary of Florida, on both mainland and sea islands. The main thrust of scholarly opinion, up to the time of Turner's study, was that the Gullah dialect was simply the African's best effort to copy the "baby-talk" that was used by White people during the early period of slavery to communicate with slaves. To illustrate this view, Turner quoted Professor George Krapp of Columbia University:

> Very little of the dialect, however, perhaps none of it, is derived from sources other than English. In vocabulary, in syntax and pronunciation, practically all of the forms of Gullah can be explained on the basis of English and probably only a little deeper delving would be necessary to account for those characteristics that still seem strange and mysterious...Generalizations are always dangerous...but it is reasonably safe to say that not a single detail of Negro pronunciation or Negro syntax can be proved to have any other than an English origin. (Turner, 1969, p. 6)

Turner also quoted A. F. Gonzales, editor of many volumes of Gullah folktales, as follows:

> Slovenly and careless of speech, these Gullahs seized upon the peasant English used by some of the early settlers and by white servants of the wealthier colonists, wrapped their tongues about it as well as they could, and, enriched with certain expressive African words, it issued through their flat noses and thick lips as so workable a form of speech, that it was gradually adopted by the other slaves and became, in time, the accepted Negro speech of the lower districts of South Carolina and Georgia.
>
> ...The words, are, of course, not African, for the African brought over or retained only a few words of his jungle tongue and even these few are by no means authenticated as part of the original scant baggage of the Negro slaves.
>
> ...What became of this jungle speech, why so few words should have survived, is a mystery. For, even after freedom, a few native Africans of the later importation were still living on the Carolina Coast, and the old family servants often spoke, during and after the war, of native Africans they had known. For a while they repeated many tales that came by word of mouth from the Dark Continent,... they seemed to have picked from the mouths of their African brothers not a single jungle word for the enrichment of their own speech.
>
> (Turner, 1969, pp. 7-8)

None of Turner's predecessors ("expert linguists") seemed to understand the simple necessity of becoming acquainted with the African language spoken by the Africans brought to South Carolina and Georgia, nor with the speech of Africans in parts of the New World other than the United States. Yet they felt quite competent to write scholarly papers about the Gullah. There are perfect parallels with cross-cultural assessors (psychometrists) today.

Another reason that Turner's predecessors were not able to get true information about Gullah is that,

> when talking to strangers, the Gullah Negro is likely to use speech that is essentially English in vocabulary...My first recordings of the speech of the Gullahs contain fewer African words by far than those I made when I was no longer a stranger to them.
>
> (Turner, 1969, p. 12)

A striking example of the superficial interactions of previous "scholars" with the Gullah Negroes is that although some of the early investigators believed that, "they knew the Gullah intimately," not one observed any African personal names among the Gullah! Yet Turner found that:

> These names are so numerous, both on the sea islands and on the mainland nearby, that it is difficult for one to conceive of an investigator not observing them. It is true that in almost all of their dealings with White people the Gullahs used their English name, if they had any. Many, however, had not been given an English name. At school the children are not allowed to use their African name because the teacher, who is usually not a native islander, supposed that they are nonsense words and refuses to record them. If the child has no

> English name, the teacher will give him one...If, therefore, a field worker does not come in contact with these people in their homes, but merely consults the class rolls of teachers or other records, he will assume that they have only English names. (p. 12)

Approximately 150 pages of Gullah personal names are listed in Turner's work! Turner's striking success in getting at the truth only underscores the traditional and continuing misassessment which occurs in cross-cultural settings. Arrogance about one's own expertise in these settings and ignorance of the experience base of people who are assessed is the basis for gross error.

Another example of incorrect assessment based upon a biased viewpoint, was the early investigators of the Dogon of Mali, who characterized them as the most backward race in the region and "one of the best examples of primitive savagery" (Griaule, 1965, p. 1). The investigators apparently were unconsciously imbued with a belief in their own superiority that inhibited their capacity to conduct competent assessments. Griaule, however, was able to overcome this ethnocentric bias, to gain the confidence of the village elders, and to obtain hard data based upon listening, before he reached an opinion. The elders authorized Ogotemmli, a wise old man, a former hunter who had been blinded in an accident, to instruct Griaule in the Dogon belief system. Griaule was amazed when:

> In a series of unforgettable conversations on thirty-three successive days, he laid bare the framework of a world system, the knowledge of which will revolutionize all accepted ideas about mentality of Africans and of primitive people in general. (Griaule, 1965, p. 2)

In the preface to his book, the results of Griaule's patient observations are described as follows:

> The Africans with whom we have worked in the region of the Upper Niger, have systems of signs which run into thousands, their own systems of astronomy and cylindrical measurements, methods of calculation and an extensive anatomical and physiological knowledge, as well as a systematic pharmacopoeia. The principles underlying their social organization find expression in classifications which embrace many manifestations of nature, and these form a system in which, to take examples, plants, insects, textiles, games and rites are distributed categories that can be further divided, numerically expressed, and related to one another. It is on these same principles that the political and religious authority of the chiefs, the family system and judicial rights reflected notable in kinship and marriages, have been established. Indeed, all the activities of the daily lives of individuals are ultimately based upon them. (Griaule, 1965, p. XV)

The following are examples of the same thing here in the United States. How easy it seems to be to forget what was once known.

> Cherokee education, past and present is one of the most remarkable examples of adaptation and accomplishment by any Indian tribe in the United States. Their record provides evidence of the kind of results which ensue when Indians truly have the power of self-determination: A constitution which provided for court representation, jury trial, and a right to vote,for all those over 18; a system of taxation which

> supported such services as education and road construction; an educational system which produced a Cherokee population ninety percent literate in its native language and used bilingual materials to such an extent that Oklahoma Cherokees had a higher literacy rate than the White population of either Texas or Arkansas; a system of higher education which was together with the Choctaw nation and had more than 200 schools and academies, and sent numerous graduates to Eastern colleges; the publication of a widely-read bilingual newspaper--that was in the 1800's before the Federal Government took control of the Cherokees' affairs.
>
> The record of Cherokees today is proof of the tragic results of sixty years of White control over their affairs: Ninety percent of the Cherokee families of Adair County, Oklahoma are on welfare; ninety percent of the Choctaw Indian population in McCurtain County, Oklahoma live below the poverty line; forty percent of adult Cherokees are functionally illiterate; and the Cherokee dropout rate in public schools is as high as seventy-five percent. (United States Senate, 1968)

Recent discoveries (Ainsworth, 1973), (Bayley, 1965), (Cole, 1974), (Klienfeld, 1973), (Labov, 1970), (Levi-Strauss, 1966), (Senna, 1973), (Whorf, 1956) regarding the complexities of thinking and culture among peoples previously thought to be backward have revealed that the backwardness most often has rested with the investigators who described them as backward rather than with the subjects of the investigation. That competent cross-cultural studies are complex and difficult has been documented by many anthropologists. This cultural encapsulation and bias of scholars is a major impediment to the recognition of truth. A superficial approach to cross-cultural research is a sure guarantee that the truth will not be discovered.

Herskovitz (1966) illustrated the error of unsophisticated and superficial assessment in relation to Afro-Americans in America. Thirty years earlier, when he was first attracted to studying them, he found that:

> ...Such hypotheses as had been developed concerning the nature and functioning of New World Negro societies were based on assumptions that denied any significant role to one of the historically involved components, the African...These biases, however, when made explicit, turned out to be no more than a series of myths, albeit myths which made up a system which functioned significantly to validate a substantial segment of thought concerned with the nature of racial and cultural differences...It is not necessary here to repeat the proofs that destroy the arguments of those who, scholars of repute, not only accepted them but also gave these myths the support of seemingly tenable documentation from analyses that were couched in the terminology of science. As with any system of this kind, the arguments collapsed when put to the test of fact...(p. 125)

Intelligent scholars should recognize immediately the gaping limitations of all culturally constructed perspectives and tools, particularly IQ tests, and culturally unsophisticated observers.

The real pity in our thinking about "aptitude" is that we seem continuously to ignore successful learning under optimum instructional conditions as a source for validation of predictions. For example, our educational psychologists have shown almost no interest in one of the most dramatic demonstrations of minority ability to date. Project SEED has been carried out with phenomenal success in the United States and in foreign countries since 1970.

Everywhere, the story is the same about Project SEED. Fifth and sixth grade students, within a very short period of time, excitedly perform complex mathematical operations such as the multiplication of large numbers in their heads, working **logarithms** and doing exponentiation. Most often, these students are from poverty areas. They make up the population that has been described as "unable to learn." Many are seen as "educationally handicapped" and, it has been suggested, incapable of "level two reasoning." But,(cognitive level) like the bumblebee who, contrary to the laws of aerodynamics, is able to fly, these children, fortunately, are unaware that they cannot "fly," and they have a multiethnic group of teachers who are also unaware that they cannot "fly." These teachers do not "cop out" by claiming "nutritional deficits," "cultural difference," "culture of poverty," "single-parent families," "low aptitude," "bilingualism," or "emotional handicaps" as professional excuses. They consistently produce these extraordinary results.

In an evaluation by the Northwest Regional Laboratory, Project SEED was shown to be superior to the regular program in producing arithmetic gains; but the remarkable part of this evaluation is that the arithmetic gains were simply a by-product of the SEED program which concentrates on advanced mathematics. On May 9, 1968, Dr. George E. Backus, Professor of Geophysics at the University of California, San Diego, wrote to the San Diego Board of Education as follows:

> On May 8 at the University of California, San Diego, I attended Mr. W. F. Johntz' demonstration of the techniques he used to teach algebra to second and fifth grade students in his program of Special Elementary Education for the **Disadvantaged** 'SEED'. He simply taught a fifth grade class from Logan Elementary School for fifty minutes. To say that I was impressed with the results is an understatement. Children with obvious language problems responded correctly and enthusiastically and asked very shrewd, insightful questions. Today I visited the Logan Elementary School and saw a second class, fourth grade, do equally well with equal enthusiasm in their regular classroom.
>
> ...Mr. Johntz has undoubtedly described to you his success in Berkeley where he says his mathematics program has led children to greatly improve their performance in other subjects. My only information about these "side effects" comes from Mr. Johntz, but my direct observation indicated clearly that the children do grasp concepts which some of my undergraduate mathematics students at M.I.T. were vague about and that the children show a genuine intellectual curiosity which I would be glad to see more widespread among our graduate students at the University of California at San Diego.

It would seem that when children learn so dramatically, and when this is not predicted by the results of standardized assessment processes or tests for intelligence, that the faulty processes, faulty tests, and the faulty assessors themselves would become the object of severest scrutiny. But, interestingly enough, the general reception of Project SEED by our profession has been to ignore it!

It is not always clear to users, decision makers, and the public in general, that in the history of assessment we find that standardized tests have been employed more often for political and economic reasons than for psychological reasons. All that is necessary to demonstrate this fact is to review the origin of the demand for psychological and educational assessment. For example:

> Alfred Binet, an experimental psychologist, was also an activist against the unexamined pedagogy of his time. In 1899 he joined with teachers and others in forming a free society for the psychological study of children. Binet's group studied educational problems arising from the *compulsory school attendance law of 1881 which kept all children in schools*, *including* those unable to respond to the standard curriculum and those from lower class backgrounds. He advocated *special classes* for those unable to profit from the regular curriculum, and in 1904 was commissioned with Theodore Simon to select children who would prove educable under special conditions. The large number of children who failed and who were over age for their grade provided one natural criterion measure for the development of the age scale in the Binet-Simon test.
>
> The Binet tests were originally validated by showing that their scores differentiated children who did well in school from those who did poorly. Many of the latter were working and lower class children who were *forced into the schools by compulsory attendance laws*. (Levine, p. 230)
> [Italics Mine]

In a very real sense one can follow the history of social issues in American education by following the history of standardized testing. For example, Levine points out further that the grade level organization of school did not always exist in America. The grade system was developed in response to the problems of educating a growing population. In this climate standardized tests were welcomed. School superintendent William Harris is credited with developing the modern grading system which is organized by years and quarter years of work, with pupils moving through on the basis of regular examinations. According to Levine, Harris' system was formally endorsed by the National Educational Association's Department of School Superintendents at its annual meeting in 1874. At about that time compulsory school attendance laws were passed in many states (Levine, 1976, p. 231). According to Levine, at the turn of the century between 20 and 50 percent of the public school children were two or more years behind grade placement. Students had to move through the system *in groups* at the same time. A promotion system which required an examination procedure emerged. The age-grade system had other effects as well.

> Cahoon presents evidence that up to the early 1800's the educational literature emphasized the problem of poor teaching. It was only after the emergence of the age-grade system that the concept of a learning disability appeared. Teachers could think of children progressing at individual paces before the emergence of formal age norms. After an external step standard was established, children who did not meet it were viewed as having a learning disability. Moreover, if the teacher was evaluated by the number of children who met the standard, slow learners became threats to the teacher and needed to be removed from the normal setting. Special classes adapted to solve these problems soon led to stigmatization of children.

> Practice of retention in grade was a consequence of the age grading system, but research dating to 1911 showed that with its implications of personal failure and disgrace, it was not helpful and was probably harmful. (Levine, 1976, p. 231)

Levine documents the continuing interest of policy makers in examinations. He indicated that in a quarter of a century before 1900 and for twenty years after 1900, schools and many communities were at the center of class and political conflicts. The native-born Protestant, both middle and upper class, failed in their attempts to eliminate corruption and to take politics out of the school. Their opponents were the big city bosses where constituencies were, according to Levine, "Irish and Italian Catholic, and Eastern European Jewish lower class immigrants, who had flooded the cities." The chief issue at stake was the control of the increasingly larger budgets for salaries and buildings, and the appointments of teachers, principals, and administrators.

During this time, tests of "intelligence" or "IQ" and "achievement" were also being utilized throughout the world. An examination of the evolution of those practices is instructive. For example:

> Interest in testing in England arose in a similar climate of political conflict. At the time that formal tests were adopted (about 1924), there was a substantial *problem in admission to secondary schools, because there were insufficient places or scholarships*. Despite the labor party policy of secondary education for all, *the under supply of places in school led to selection rather than to immediate expansion*, in the secondary schools. (Levine, 1976) [Italics mine]

The interest in testing grew in England, therefore, at the time when there was a serious political problem in the provision of education for all. In the history of education, the widespread development of highly specialized "remedial" school programs, ran remarkably parallel to the development of population pressures on the school and to efforts at school integration. For example, it would be important to explore the relationship between the growth of special education and standardized testing as school practice and the implementation of the 1954 Supreme Court decision outlawing school segregation. A similar question might be asked regarding any likely connection between stepped up activity in school integration through busing and the emergence of the notion of "learning disabilities." (Schragg and Divoky, 1975) It is certainly clear from visits to schools in most large urban areas that minority populations have been represented disproportionately to their numbers in the general population in "lower tracks" and in special classes for the "learning disabled" or "mentally retarded." The real clincher in the argument about the test as a non-pedagogical device comes when we look at the fact that professional literature is silent concerning the lack of positive gains that accrue from the application of massive standardized testing to "learning disabled" populations. There is no evidence to indicate that students get better as a consequence of "diagnoses and prescriptions" from the vast majority of standardized testing which is conducted. It is critical that if assessment in education is used, the first priority must be the improvement of instruction, and not the rationalization of the lack of instruction.

It can never be overlooked that the standardized testing of "aptitude" was born in the womb of a period where the oppression of minorities was legitimated in law, religious and philosophical belief, social sanction, and in the professional practice of education, psychology and the other behavioral sciences as well. (Thomas and Sillen, 1972) Leon Kamin, Chairman of the Department of Psychology at Princeton University has written:

> The IQ test in America, and the way we think about it, has been fostered by men committed to a particular social view. That view includes the belief that those on the bottom are genetically inferior victims of their own immutable defects. The consequence has been that the IQ test has served as an instrument of oppression against the poor--dressed in the trappings of science, rather than politics.
> (Kamin, 1974)

In spite of this beginning, the assessment "baby" must not be thrown out with the bath. It is very important that the process of assessment be developed so that we have the fullest possible understanding of student behavior and how the interaction of school experience and student behavior affect each other. This means that assessment must be more than testing. It does not mean that standardized tests must be eliminated. But, it does mean that standardized tests must be built so that real differences are not obliterated and real similarities are not overlooked. The standardized test owes its greatest debt to the real world; not to the maintenance of or conformity to the rules of standardized tests or to support for the preferences of the designers of experiments.

CHAPTER III

Fundamental Considerations for Cross Cultural Assessment

Any serious attention to cross-cultural assessment attempts will reveal exactly how complex and difficult this process is. In addition to many historical blunders as cited above, the results for a given cultural group change as their environmental conditions change. For example, Ryan (1971) points out that there are cases in which the performance of children fails to follow the theoretical curve. He cites a study which was done in Harlem and Roxbury, New York. In the second, third, and fourth grades, there were no significant differences found between the so called "culturally deprived" children and others. A study in Boston showed that the so called "culturally-deprived" children in the second grade actually read slightly better than the "middle class" children, although the differences were not statistically significant. Later in Boston, however, in the fifth and sixth grades, the expectations began to come true and the "culturally-deprived" children began to fall behind and by the eighth grade the differences were large and clear cut. By then as Ryan says, "The performance of the children has finally been made to fit the theory." Then Ryan points out the paradox in the whole situation. In the early grades when, presumably, the effect of the home background and the "cultural deprivation" or "advantage" are greatest, little or no differences in reading performance between children in two different kinds of schools appear. However, four or five years later when the influence of the school has had a chance to take effect the "culturally-deprived" child shows his expected reading deficits. Under such circumstances, is it the home or the school that causes the problem?

It is very interesting that European and American scholars have experienced so much interest in recent world history in the "innate ability" of both "primitive" people and so called "disadvantaged people." Intense interest has been displayed especially in areas where colonization has been in effect. For example, in the early 1900's (Evans, 1970), work was done in South Africa in an attempt to determine the educational "potential" of Africans. In 1915 and 1916 C. T. Loram gave a series of mental tests to Africans, Asians, and Europeans in South Africa. He found that the African was "remarkably inferior" to both the Asian and the European. While the Africans scored lower than the Asians, he ruled out language as having any significant effects, in view of the fact that English was the second language for both the Asian and African. Loram felt that the "inferiority" could be repaired by the utilization of "selective breeding." By this means the educational potential of the African could be raised. South Africa is a colonial country that has a stake in the maintenance of White minority rule. Such rule has been justified there, in part, on the basis of an alleged "inferiority" of the African.

Even while there have been major and continuing abuses in the area of cross-cultural assessment, many investigators have paid attention to the confusing results which are obtained when attempting to apply instruments for the assessment of aptitude which were designed in one culture, to people from another culture. For example, Bernard Notcutt (Evans, 1970) noted that when he administered the Raven's Progressive Matrices Test to Zulus, the statistical distributions for

Zulus and Europeans were quite different. The distribution for the Zulu was positively skewed while for the European, it was negatively skewed; thus it was not possible statistically, using normal assumptions, to compare the scores obtained across groups. Also in (Evans, 1970) G. C. Scott in the Sudan is reported to have attempted to test Africans with a foreign verbal test, and found that the translations were invalid and unreliable, whereupon he devised his own test which he based upon two principles. First, the items used should be wholly suited to the child's environment, and second, the presentation of these items must suit the environment--in other words, the child must understand what he is asked to do. Other investigators such as D. R. Dent (Evans, 1970) found that the cultural characteristics of the Zulu had to be taken into consideration as tests are devised. For example, Zulus were found not to be time conscious and did not work for speed, yet the results of many tests are partially interpreted on the basis of how long the subject took to complete it. Also, the Zulus seem to answer questions only when they are sure they know the answers rather than be willing to make a guess.

Some interesting concrete examples of how test questions take on meaning, unique and specific to a given culture are cited in (Evans, 1970). In a study of the effective language on color perception Verona Harris noted that the word "red" in the Zulu language is used to denote all colors, dark brown through yellow. Then she asked the question, "does this indicate that Zulus are deficient in color discrimination?" To test her hypothesis she used rural and urban Zulus and matched them with Whites. She showed both groups color cards and asked them to identify the colors. Although the Zulus initially called all cards "red," when questioned further they were able to discriminate the colors by associating the color with something in the environment that they knew, for example, "This is the color of my father's hut, or this is the color of my uncle's largest cow." It is important to note that the Zulus could make these distinctions although there were no words present in the Zulu's language for those colors. In fact, "Zulu children showed a finer discrimination ability from brown to yellow and black to white than the groups of white children. The blue-green series was discriminated equally well by both groups." Based upon these findings, Harris concluded that the classification of color is made according to cultural demand and that these classifications are accurate as long as they relate to cultural needs.

There is much more to be done according to Marie Knapan (Evans, 1970). No psychologist has yet investigated the claim which her African colleagues and students often make regarding the perception of markings on domestic animals, birds, leaves, plants and so forth that occur in very fine detail at a very early age. Knapan also mentions a dance which she infers requires the highest level of cognitive skill. The principal author has also played (poorly) and witnessed this dance many times. Knapan describes it as follows: Northern Nigerian girls and girls in Ghana who play the game in which the dance steps of the leader at the center of a ring of girls are studied by those on the outside in an attempt to match them. It becomes clear that if the leader has only ten variations, she has factorial ten permutations of steps in which the player on the outside ring must perceive, learn and then predict. To the Western eye, unaided by a high speed camera, this task is all but impossible. Yet the game is played by African girls of all ages. Knapan also points out that assessment of the whole area of affect may very well be slighted by attempting to use a language of one culture in order to make assessments in another. Therefore, comparison will be limited to a restricted domain of "cognitive" behavior. One can only speculate about what happens when sophisticated factorial or scaling techniques are applied to domains that are restricted for one population but which may be global for another.

Scholars who do cross-cultural assessment frequently appear to skip hurriedly past the fundamental question of whether a given construct can be thought of having universal applicability. For example, western psychological constructs for intelligence may have no meaningful definition in another society, especially since these constructs most often are *products of the western mind and not of observed behavior*. Occasionally investigators seem not to deal with the *people* involved at all, and deal primarily with *constructs* and *second hand information* about people. Idowu (1975) takes Sigmund Freud to task for his cross-cultural assessment, or rather cross-cultural speculations in *Totem and Taboo*. Idowu points out that Freud drew the most heavily upon the "fantastic yarns" of Frazer's *Golden Bough* and on Robertson's myth, *Religion of the Semites* which were principal among his source books. Idowu then asks, "Now what or who has been psychoanalyzed--a theory, no doubt, since Freud and "primitive" men had never met, and no "primitive" man had ever entered his clinic." (pp. 38-39)

One of the major problems in cross-cultural assessment in general, particularly in the cross-cultural assessment of "intelligence," is a fact reported in study after study in the literature, and that is the *variation* among subjects in *motivation*, *interest*, or *willingness* to participate freely in research studies. For example, (Evans, 1970) reports that one of the greatest difficulties when interviewing Africans is the "inability" of many of them to report their own impressions, feelings and even actions. They may be willing to provide information but simply be unable to express themselves through lack of practice in situations which resemble interviews. It may even be that feelings and impressions are thought to be reportable verbally in any precise sense only in a Western, word-dependent culture. In fact, it is anything but clear that "word-therapy" in Western culture is as productive in giving insight about feelings as might appear to be the case. Bastide (1971) reports that the Maroons of Jamaica are more secretive and retiring with a tendency to conceal their social customs from the curiosity of ethnographers. They are descended from the Africans who revolted at the time of the island occupation by the English in 1739. "They marry only themselves...and refuse to receive visitors unless the latter are accompanied by their own people." Clearly, the willing participation of all subjects cannot be assumed in any investigation of human behavior.

John Holt (1969) points out that even under the best of circumstances, with close congruence between the culture of the assessor and the person being assessed, there is still a major communication problem between the assessor and the person being assessed.

> Thus, even if we all, including little children, knew our own thoughts the testing situation would have two grave defects irremediably built into it. The first stems from the limitation of language. The tester can never, even if he wants to, and he may not always want to, fully express in the words of his question, what it is he wants to find out; while the answerer cannot wholly express his answers, or what he wants to reply. The second defect arises from the fact that in almost any questioning situation, there is an element of judgment and hence, of threat, which must influence the thoughts and words of the two parties. The questioner, depending upon what he wants, cannot help to some

> degree pushing the responder either towards or away from the correct answer. The responder in turn cannot help wonder what the tester wants and again, depending on the situation, deciding whether or not to give it to him. There is no escape from this, if someone asks me a question, one of the first thoughts of this that must pop into my head is, 'Why is he asking me this?' What I do from then on may depend very heavily upon what I think he is after. (Holt, 1969, p. 67)

How many errors in assessment have been made simply because of the failure to take into account the condition John Holt describes above.

Even more fundamental than any of those things above is the need to develop much more sophistication in cross-cultural assessment in the particular case where there is a history of oppression between two groups such as that between mainstream Euro-American and Afro-American groups. Under such circumstances, the assessor from the dominant group becomes even more of a major variable in the assessment process. Perhaps no one has illustrated this better than Frantz Fanon. His analysis is astute:

> The colonized perceives the doctor, the engineer, the school teacher, the policeman, the rural constable, through the haze of an almost organic confusion. The compulsory visit by the doctor to the douar, (clinic) is preceded by the assembling of the population through the agency of the police authorities. The doctor who arrives in this atmosphere of general constraint is never a native doctor, but always a doctor belonging to the dominant society and very often, to the army.
>
> ...In a non-colonial society the attitude of a sick man in the presence of a medical practitioner is one of confidence. The patient trusts the doctor; he puts himself in his hands, he yields himself to him, he accepts the fact that pain may be awakened or exacerbated by the physician, for the patient realizes that the intensifying of suffering in the course of examination may pave the way to peace in his body. At no time in a non-colonial society does the patient mistrust his doctor.
>
> The colonized person who goes to see the doctor is always diffident, he always answers in monosyllables, gives little in the way of explanation, and soon arouses the doctor's impatience. This attitude is not to be confused with the kind of inhibiting fear that patients usually feel in the doctor's presence. We often hear said that a certain doctor has a good bedside manner, that he puts his patients at ease, but it so happens in the colonial situation the personal approach, the ability to be one's self, of establishing and maintaining a 'contact,' are not observable. The colonial situation standardizes relations for it dichotomizes the colonial society in a marked way. (Fanon, 1965, pp. 121-126)

Fanon, an astute and skilled observer, has also turned his attention to the "helping professional." "A White man addressing a Negro behaves exactly like an adult with a child and starts smirking, whispering, patronizing, cozening. It is not one White man I have watched, but hundreds." (Fanon, 1967, p. 31)

Another interesting source of data gives us strong evidence to demonstrate perceptual distortion which characterized observers during the colonial and slavery period. This was the general society of which the behavioral scientist was an integral part.

> For over half a century it (The Minstrel Show) remained the most popular entertainment form in the century.
>
> With *its images of Negroes shaped by white expectations and desires and not by black realities*, Minstrelsy and its latter-day successors, like 'Uncle Remus' and 'Amos and Andy,' deeply embedded caricatures of Blacks into American popular culture. (Toll, 1974, Preface)
> [Italics Mine]

No better example could be given of misassessment than the permeating impact of minstrelsy in our polarized society. Significantly, the apparent *need* for minstrelsy has never been studied in any systematic way. Yet it is a fact that for many Whites, even in 1976, the minority person that is "seen" is a fabrication. "J. J.," of *Goodtimes*, Nipsey Russell, Flip Wilson, The Jeffersons, and Fred Sanford are hardly the creations that would come from a free choice of Afro-Americans for prime time television. The material which they do is not begged for by "the Ghetto." There is another interesting example. A personal inscription in a book titled *Enos Africanus* about an old faithful slave was found in an old book by the author in a used bookstore. It is very revealing. It illustrates who such material serves most.

> 'To Phil ________. As a little memento of Rotary meetings in Los Angeles on March 26th...My thanks to you--
>
> This little story is a favorite of mine--story of the old, old South that is no more--You, too, will like old Enos for his love, loyalty and devotion to his "folks."
>
> Many thanks to you with best wishes from Bryan________.'

The point of these observations and quotations is that a *general predisposition* to view minorities in a particular way has been a part of the society for many Americans since its inception. We have already shown that this general malaise has also infected scholarly activity, and that scholarly activity is not independent of the society in which scholarship is developed. Some investigators or assessors have been able to overcome these limiting conditions. However, the condition is too widespread to be ignored in behavioral research on assessment.

In spite of the fact that oppression has been a major force in fact, in virtually all areas of the world where activity in the assessment of the intelligence has been found, one looks in vain in the professional literature for any attempt to treat the "colonizer" and the "colonized" and the *interaction* of their respective behavioral dynamics, while considering the results of cross cultural assessment of "intelligence." The failure to do this constitutes a gross error for the behavioral scientist. Because of this failure, frequent errors are actually built into the process of assessment as indicated by the examples cited of the attempt to assess the linguistic behavior of the Gullah and the intelligence of the Dogon of Mali. The continuing inability of behavioral scientists to see conditions of oppression which may exist overtly or subtly between people, is a major factor in the continuing gross misassessment of people of color. As an example, Pettigrew (1964) points out a basic similarity between the behavior of oppressed Jews in Germany and oppressed Afro-Americans.

> The profound personality change created by the Nazis and independently reported by a number of psychologists and psychiatrists who survived, was toward childishness and total acceptance of the S.S. guards as father figures--a syndrome strikingly similar to the 'Sambo' character of the southern slave. Nineteenth century racists readily believed that the 'Sambo' personality was an inborn racial type. Yet no African anthropological data ever showed any personality type resembling 'Sambo,' and the concentration camp molded the equivalent personality pattern in a wide variety of Caucasian prisoners, nor was "Sambo" merely a product of 'slavery' in the abstract, for the less devastating Latin American slave system never developed such a type. (pp. 13-14)

One thing that is important to note about Pettigrew's example is that behavioral scientists who studied this phenomenon were themselves an integral part of the system. Even when the system was functioning in its most oppressive form, so as to produce truly bizarre oppressor behavior, the behavioral scientists were unable to recognize such behavior as unnatural and the effects of that behavior on assessment interactions. If they did recognize this factor, little has come to us in the literature to illustrate this point. Of equal importance is the fact that a portrait is missing. This portrait was drawn by Albert Memmi (1965). The portrait is that of "colonizer" or the person who willingly or unwittingly benefits from the oppressive system. While this beneficiary was not mentioned by Pettigrew (above), that person exhibits behavior which is equally systematic under conditions of maximum oppression. That is to say, the S.S. guard could never be a "natural" figure. Nor could the southern slave owner behave in a "natural" way. This condition affects what the observer will "see" when they assess each other.

Even though the gross expression of oppressive systems may no longer be evident, at the same time powerful residuals remain even in 1976. One need only be reminded that the legal remedy for a broadly based segregation in the United States by the Supreme Court is only a mere quarter of a century old. The moral remedy has yet to be found. Yet, nowhere in cross-cultural assessment do we have a way of taking into account systematically the effects on the behavior of those psychometrist assessors who are a part of an ethnic group which benefits most from a given system, compared to those who benefit least from a given system as these behaviors affect the results of research and assessment. While it is clear that the problem is extremely difficult to solve, at the same time interpretations of "findings" and cross-cultural research, therefore, can be made only with the most extreme caution, and not with the reckless abandon which still is a major part of standardized assessment.

The social scientist must be concerned with the question of objectivity in cross-cultural assessments (Myrdal, 1969). However, this concern must be more than the simplistic rote recitation of a standard litany about objectivity. It is not enough simply to note that "all observers are biased." Systematic attention to the problem must be given as an integral part of the assessment process.

At this point it is necessary to illustrate more precisely the reason why systematic attention must be paid to the assessor's behavior and therefore, to the influence of the assessor on the assessment situation. Since there tends to be a degree of homogeneity among teachers, one might assume that among a subset of teachers are those who are involved in the assessment of children; likewise among a subset of psychologists or psychometrists similarly involved that even more homogeneity would be seen. At least we have examples from studies of teaching which show that personal factors interact strongly with professional practice. Brenton (1972) found the following to be characteristic of the teachers he studied. We must keep assessors in mind as we consider the following information about teachers:

> The teacher's principal leisure time activities are again, like his non-teaching counterparts, apt to be sedentary. Favorite pastimes are watching television, visiting people, reading, writing correspondence, attending religious services, dining out, going to parties, listening to records (semi-classical, musical comedy, folk) and going to the movies (historical films are best liked, but only about one-fourth of the teachers attend the movie theater as often as once or twice a month.
>
> Few teachers like to do more active things like going out for teaching sports, acting in dramatic groups, playing musical instruments, tinkering with their cars, sketching or painting. Favorite sports are football, basketball, and baseball in that order, but only as spectators... Teachers chose activities requiring minimal use of physical energy; teachers chose activities that made few mental demands; teachers aim for escape from work-a-day life, a life so much more demanding and complicated. The net result for teachers, say London and Larson 'is a somewhat listless, colorless, and subdued existence.' (p. 119)

Norma Feshbach (1971) found that while flexibility and independence are least valued by student-teachers, they are even less acceptable when displayed by girls. Conversely, rigidity and dependence are more highly valued in girls than in boys. Feshbach also found that empirical data and sociological analyses bearing upon teacher personality suggest that teachers as a group tend to be more conforming, restrained, controlled, cautious, and acquiescent than non-teachers. Once again, Feshbach found that the data provides strong support for the primary hypothesis of her study,"prospective teachers rate more favorably students exhibiting behavior associated with control, caution, and conformity." (p. 78) One other bit of information about teachers raises questions that might require consideration today, especially of assessors who work with older students. Brenton (1972) found the following:

> At two year intervals from 1928 to 1932, two educational researchers conducted an exhaustive study of over 45,000 high school and college students in Pennsylvania. Their findings were startling. They learned that among college students, education majors ranked at the bottom scholastically in comparison with students in other categories. The median IQ scores for 26,000 high school students selected at random was higher than the median for education students and those ready to receive their degrees at several teacher colleges. Moreover, in comparing college seniors in education with unselected high school seniors, the two researchers found that many of the high school seniors had actually made better grades in the very subjects the education majors were getting ready to teach.

> In 1965, a USOE study of graduate students' undergraduate achievement showed that only business and commerce majors did worse, that is, got a lower percentage of A's and A-'s and a higher percentage of C's and C-'s than education majors. In 1952 education majors ranked lowest of sixteen professional categories on the Graduate Record Examination. In 1963-64 they ranked lowest again. In 1968, they ranked lowest once more. (p. 120)

There have been many more studies over the years which deal with teacher background, behavior and preferences. It is not the point of this study to describe fully or accurately a "profile of teachers." The main point here is to suggest that among teachers (or assessors) highly potent dynamics are operating and that the teacher or psychologist therefore becomes a major variable in the assessment process. (Bess, 1973) We do not know enough at this time to know precisely what the dynamics are, what impact these dynamics will have upon children, or exactly how these forces will affect assessment. However, there is evidence to indicate that the impact is strong and, consequently will require systematic attention. For example, in a further description by Feshbach (1971) she reminds the reader of her finding that student teachers "prefer pupils whose behavior reflects rigidity, conformity, and orderliness and dependence, passivity and acquiescence rather than pupils whose behavior is indicative of flexibility, non-conformity and untidiness or independence, activity and assertiveness." (p. 82) Yet, these very characteristics are said to describe "gifted children." (Hilliard, 1976), (Aiken, 1973) What evidence do we have about the impact which such behavior must have when teachers or school psychologists teach or assess students. For example, Anthony (1969), also presents a detailed description of the way in which the motivation of a parent (analogous to teacher or assessor) affects the practice of punishment. Under the heading of aspirational aspects (of punishment) Anthony shows how personal deficits may affect the parents' punishing behavior.

> The father has failed as a man and feeling emaciated and impotent: 'I have failed in accomplishing anything in my life and now I am going to make sure that I fulfill my ambition through you. I failed once but I will not fail a second time. I am going to make certain that you get somewhere I failed to reach. I shall then at least be able to enjoy your successes as if they were my own. I don't want to beat you and it hurts me to do it because it more than emphasizes my impotence--hitting kids is not a man's job but I have to hit you, because I cannot risk being a total flop.'

Still other authors, Nordstrom, Friedenberg and Gold (1967) illustrate how difficult situations in the life of a teacher may have a direct bearing upon the teacher's behavior in interactions with students in the classroom. A flavor of the interaction from Nordstrom, Friedenberg and Gold's study can be gained from the following:

> Now let us return again to Gordon Hughes, certainly an intelligent, imaginative young man, at one time a scientist in his dreams. If we add a touch of resentment to the leaving of his high school life, what happens then? The essential qualities of the creative student as he is beginning to be defined in the literature is that his thought is divergent. He doesn't arrive at "right" answers by deducing them

> *from established premises but by an intuitive understanding of how the problem he is dealing with really works, of what actually goes into it. He works hard when the problem requires it and respects facts as a part of reality but, for the creative students, facts are not simply right answers but tools and components for building original solutions*. [Italics Mine]
>
> Faced with the potentially creative student with our hypothetical Hughes, how will the secondary school teacher react? If he is a high school teacher because the job gives him joy and if he is competent intellectually, he will react with delight. But to the degree that he is resenting it, his action will be permeated with defensive hostility. Consider, for example, the poor mathematician who somehow manages to salvage enough math to become a high school teacher. Such a teacher functions by knowing a set of answers and a conventional procedure for arriving at them. He maintains his self esteem by convincing himself that this is enough; the student like Hughes, who confronts him and who really understands mathematics, puts him in a dilemma. On the one hand, a Hughes may show up his teacher as incompetent; on the other, the teacher may suspect the student of conning him and even of laughing at him for being taken in. Caught in a bind, the teacher dares not commit himself to either interpretation. If he is authoritarian, he bullies the student into solving the problem 'the way I show you as long as you are in my class.' If he is 'philanthropic' he responds with studied tolerance and amusement to the 'attention getting behavior' of a Hughes. But in either case, the teacher tries to make sure that Hughes doesn't embarrass him again by actually getting up and doing mathematics in front of the whole class. (pp. 9-10)

The examples above should be sufficient to indicate (1) the high degree of complexity and difficulty in applying assessment skills in different cultural settings, (2) the fact that any assessor or instrument produced by that assessor reflects an ethnocentric pattern of psycho-cultural dynamics, (3) that the pattern of psycho-cultural dynamics of an assessor is a major variable in the assessment process affecting the perception, interpretation and strategies which will be exhibited by that teacher, and (4) that politics and assessment have been closely intertwined.

It is of more than passing interest here that materials of this kind, though obviously important for valid assessment, is virtually absent from the coursework, reading lists, and syllabi in the training programs for school counselors and school psychologists across the Nation. Myrdal (1969 and 1970) is something of a model in raising the question of observer bias. While neither Myrdal nor any other social-scientist or professional practioner can ever be free of bias, it is possible to reduce some of the bias and some of the negative effects of the bias, provided systematic attention is paid to it. Failing that, it is possible to approach the interpretation of data with more caution and realism.

Chapter IV

Perspectives on Style: A Basic Foundation for an Alternative Approach to Assessment

> Your trouble is that you have to explain everything to everybody compulsively and at the same time you want to keep the freshness and newness of what you do. Well, since you can't be excited in explaining everything you have done, you lie in order to keep going.
>
> (Castaneda, 1974, p. 16)

> The effectiveness of a person is greatly influenced by the way he looks at life, his world-view. His point of view or his philosophy of life affects every aspect of his behavior, his attitude toward himself, towards others, including his immediate associates and toward the world, animate and inanimate things extending to every phase of the universe. Nothing he says or does can escape his world-view. All flows out of and through and constantly reflects a person's philosophy of life... the world-view or outlook which is so critical to man's behavior is based in large measure on what he considers to be true and what he deems important. True and important are not identical. A person may believe a thing to be true but of little significance to his needs and purposes.
>
> (Pullias, 1975, p. xvii)

There seems to be two fundamental questions which are asked by assessors (or tests) and which symbolize two fundamentally different approaches to the assessment of human behavior:

1. DO YOU KNOW WHAT I KNOW?

2. WHAT IS IT THAT YOU KNOW?

Virtually all standardized tests of assessment and most other approaches to the assessment of human behavior to date have been associated with the first question. The question, "Do you know what I know?" assumes that, in order to be judged proficient in some category, the subject is permitted to provide a response only within a restricted range. The experiences and point of view of the examiner(s) are used either in an interview or solidified into a standardized test, and assumed to constitute some kind of "norm." Consequently, the language, vocabulary, general experience pool, and basic approach to the solution of problems must coincide with the experiences, the narrow experiences, of the person or persons who framed the questions. Even more problematical, however, is a second implicit assumption. That assumption is that a person being assessed has no experience, language, or personal or cultural framework for approaching the problem other than that of which the question askers are aware. In other words, "If a tree falls in the forest and I am not there, is there a sound?" Clearly, one of the major professional blunders in the assessment that takes place in cross-cultural settings is that it has proceeded under the impetus from naive and culturally unsophisticated assessors who were unable to conceive that subjects can and do have idiosyncratic or culturally specific and very rich experiences through which "aptitude" can and must be expressed. With standardized tests, both the questions and the answers are "frozen" in an "instrument." The same questions and answers are applied to all comers regardless of their experiential background. Standardized assessment is totally inadequate when it comes to the acceptance of responses in a different language, different experiential pool, or different approaches to problem solution. By definition, standardized assessment is "convergent" and therefore is unable to deal with "divergent" or novel thinking, expression or problem solving.

Breakthroughs in the Understanding of "Aptitude": Type Two Questions

It is interesting to note that the major and dramatic breakthroughs in the understanding of human behavior and the solution of pedagogical problems most often have proceeded from precisely the opposite kind of assessment! That assessment begins with the second question, "What is it that you know." In this approach, to the maximum extent possible, an assessor rids himself or herself of most structuring limitations and positions himself or herself as an observer of what people do. Patience, time and sophisticated clinical perception are fundamental requirements in this approach. However, the rewards are frequently of the highest order. This approach is primarily "Darwinian" or ethnographic. The **armchair** speculation of "pseudo-scientists" and the stale summarizing of journal articles has yielded little by comparison. To be specific, the works of Jean Piaget, Michael Cole (1974), Ray Rist, Dave Berliner, and William Tinkenoff (1975), Lorenzo Turner (1949), Baratz and Baratz (1969), William Labov (1970), and many others are typical of what can result when the observer is led by real data rather than by preconceived bias, armchair speculation or simplistic statistical studies. It is interesting to note that in the "classical blunders" and cross-cultural research which were cited earlier, in every case the investigator's basic failure was the failure to bring an unfettered mind to the setting for observation. A second major failure was that the investigators failed to develop very simple, obvious, and basic cultural sophistication which was a prerequisite to understanding. The limitation, in other words, was not in the subject, but in the investigator.

One of the exciting and interesting things which has emerged in recent years when investigators have asked the "Type Two" question, is the discovery that the belief system, world-views, and cognitive or general behavioral styles condition, and in a sense, predetermine the manner in which men and women approach their world. Therefore, any behavioral assessment which proceeds in ignorance of, or which fails to take into account the factors of world-view, belief system, and behavioral style is doomed to confusion and error. It becomes important, here, therefore, to present in more detail a basic approach to the understanding of behavioral style, and a few examples of the manifestation of these styles.

In a review of the literature and in the interviews with keen observers of human behavior, the authors have encountered repeatedly, evidence for the existence of basic behavioral styles. Differences in style appear not at all to be differences in "aptitude." Evidence for these stylistic differences occurs in many different areas in human experience and is reported by observers by many different names. Yet, the characteristics which accompany the names tend to fall into a basic pattern. Behavioral styles may be thought of as falling along a continuum. In fact, some investigators may mention four or more styles. However, for the purpose of this review and study, only two behavioral styles will be examined in detail. These two styles are conceived of as being on two ends of the same continuum. Intermediate positions representing an overlapping of the styles can be conceived.

Basic Behavioral Styles

In view of the fact that behavioral styles have been variously referred to by different investigators, and with no intent deliberately to add to confusion by the introduction of still another set of descriptors, it is necessary for this study to offer labels for two polar styles and to relate the discussions of behavioral styles by other investigators to them.

Basic behavioral styles may be thought of as "atomistic-objective" or "synthetic-personal." These styles represent two fundamentally opposite approaches to the organization of human experience and to the use of one's environment. No serious attempt will be made here to speculate regarding the origins of these two styles. However, the speculations of other investigators will be cited as appropriate.

Atomistic-objective Style - Atomistic-objective behavioral style is one in which habitual patterns of approach to experience involve an attempt to break down the experience into components which can be understood. The observer who uses this style tends to feel himself or herself to be separate from the phenomena being observed. Among atomistic-objective style users is a decided preference for permanence, regularity, predictability, uniformity, and environmental control. There is a general distrust of feeling, a low tolerance for uncertainty, and the placement of little or no value on matters of "meaning" or purpose in events. A more complete description of this behavioral style will emerge through the presentation of the alternative perspectives which follow.

Synthetic-personal Style - The users of this style tend to approach the world in a way so as to bring together divergent experiences and to distill them to discover the essence of a matter without undue concern for the small pieces which go to make up a given experience. These style users tend to perceive themselves as an integral part of the phenomena which are being observed. Values tend to be placed on such things as divergent experimentation, expression, improvisation, and harmonious interaction with the environment. A more detailed description of the synthetic-personal behavioral style will emerge in the discussion which follows.

It can be shown that high level cognitive functioning is a property of both of these behavioral styles and of other styles, including a combination of these two. There is some evidence that styles may be changed or expanded. While ethnicity seems to be associated with stylistic variations, all styles transcend cultural groupings to some degree.

David Shapiro (1965), a psychologist, has been interested in what he calls "neurotic styles." The styles which Shapiro describes as "neurotic" so closely parallel the description given by other investigators outside the area of pathological concerns in psychology that it suggests a much more general relevance for his formulations. It seems likely, for example, that the behaviors which Dr. Shapiro sees in the extreme come to be called neurotic only because of their extremity. At the same time, even his own data suggest that these styles are found in the "ordinary" as well as in the "neurotic" behavior of the person.

> By 'style' I mean a form or mode of functioning--the way or manner of a given area of behavior--that is identifiable, in an individual, through a range of his specific acts. By "neurotic styles" I mean those modes of functioning that seem characteristic, respectively, of the various neurotic conditions. I shall consider here, particularly, ways of thinking and perceiving, ways of experiencing emotion, modes of subjective experience in general, and modes of activity that are associated with various pathologies. It is not my aim to be exhaustive or even systematic, and it is clear that there are many aspects of style that cannot even be touched here...*The simple fact of human consistency over broad areas of functioning argues for such a concept, but this fact has a more specific clinical manifestation. Every reader with clinical experience and, for that matter, every sensitive person, will know that symptoms are outstanding pathological traits regularly appearing in contexts of attitudes, interest, intellectual inclinations and endowments, and even vocational aptitudes and social affinities with which the given symptom or trait seems to have a certain consistency.* We are not surprised, for instance, to hear that a bookkeeper or scholar has developed an obsessional type of neurosis or that a woman who comes to psychotherapy because of severe emotional outbursts is an actress who is a bright and vivid social companion but is uninterested in and rather uninformed about the science of mathematics. (pp. 1-3) [Italics mine]

Later Shapiro indicates that "it is possible, in other words, to determine that individuals possess relatively stable cognitive tendencies that determine the form of the influence that a motive or need exerts on their cognition. If we can overcome the clinical or pathological association of the label "neurotic style," David Shapiro offers fundamental insight into the operation of the poles of experience which were cited above. It is instructive, therefore, to spend a bit more time with Shapiro's ideas than will be necessary with other investigators.

Shapiro's Obsessive-compulsive Style - Once again it is important to keep in mind that the characteristics mentioned below will appear in many places and can be descriptive of people who function in the "normal range" of behavior.

> The most conspicuous characteristic of the obsessive-compulsive's attention is its intense, sharp focus. These people are not vague in their attention. They concentrate particularly on detail. This

> is evident, for example, in Rorschach tests in their accumulation, frequently of large numbers of small detailed responses and their precise delineation of them. (Small profiles of faces all along the edges of ink blots and the like.) And the same affinity is easily observed in every day life. Thus, these people are often to be found among technicians; they are interested in and at home with technical details, the same sharpness of attention is, of course, also an aspect of many obsessive-compulsive symptoms. They will notice a bit of dust or worry over some insignificant inaccuracy that, everything else aside, simply would not gain the attention of another person. But the obsessive-compulsive's attention, although sharp, is in certain respects markedly limited in both mobility and range. These people not only concentrate, they seem always to be concentrating and some aspects of the world are simply not to be apprehended by a sharply focused concentrated attention. Specifically this is a mode of attention which seems unequipped for the casual or immediate impression that more passive and impressionistic sort of cognitive experience can include in its notice or allow one to be 'struck' by even that which is peripheral or incidental to its original, intended focus of attention or that may even possess a clear attention or sharp focus in the first place. These people seem unable to allow their attention simply to wander or passively permit it to be captured. Thus they rarely seem to get hunches and they are rarely 'struck' or surprised by anything. It is not that they do not look or listen, but they are looking or listening too hard for something else. (pp. 27-28)

Shapiro goes on to say that the obsessive-compulsive person in general will have some sharply defined interest and will stick to it. That the person will go after and get the facts and get them straight, but will very often miss aspects of a situation which give it flavor or its impact. Therefore, obsessive-compulsive people often seem quite insensitive to the tone of a social situation. In fact, such is the human capacity to make a virtue out of a necessity, that they often refer with pride to their "singlemindedness" or "imperturbability."

Shapiro has also indicated that a certain "rigidity" characterizes the approach of the obsessive-compulsive person.

> The term 'rigidity' is frequently used to describe various characteristics of obsessive-compulsive people. It may refer, for example, to a stiff body posture, a stilted social manner, or a general tendency to persist in a course of action that has become irrelevant or even absurd. But above all, 'rigidity' describes a style of thinking... What is meant exactly by 'rigidity?' What is meant exactly by 'rigidity' of thinking? Consider a commonplace example, the sort of thinking one encounters in a discussion with a compulsive or rigid person, the kind of person we also call 'dogmatic' or 'opinionated.' Even casual conversation with such a person is often very frustrating, and it is so, for a particular person. It is not that one meets with unexpected opposition. On the contrary, such discussion is typically frustrating just because one experiences neither real disagreement nor agreement; instead, there is no meeting of the minds at all, and the impression is simply of not being heard, of not receiving any

> but perfunctory attention...In this illustration, Al does not exactly disagree with Kay. He does not actually object to or oppose Kay's argument and he cannot be called "negativistic." He simply does not pay attention. This is active inattention; further, it has a special quality. It is different, for instance, from the wandering attention of a tired person; this inattention seems somehow to have an active, as it were, unprincipled quality. It is just such inattention to new facts or a different point of view that rigidity (or its more specific form, "dogmatism") in the obsessive-compulsive person seems to manifest itself. It is this inattention that makes us experience these people as being so utterly uninfluenceable without identifying further for the time being. Let me say, therefore, that some kind of special restriction of attention seems to be one of the crucial features of obsessive-compulsive intellectual ridigity, although not necessarily the only one. (pp. 24-25)

This condition is analogous to that of many assessors who seem unable to ask the Type II question, "What is it that you know?"

Shapiro's Hysterical Style - At the opposite end of the continuum for Shapiro is the "hysterical" person. For Shapiro, the hysterical is a global person. Hysterical cognition in general is global, relatively diffuse, and lacking in sharpness, particularly sharp detail. According to Shapiro, it is impressionistic in contrast to the active, intense and sharply focused attention of the obsessive-compulsive. Hysterical cognition seems relatively lacking in sharp focus of attention. In contrast to the compulsive's active and prolonged searching for detail, the hysterical person tends cognitively to respond quickly and is highly susceptible to what is immediately impressive, striking, or merely obvious.

> When a hysterical person is asked to describe someone else, the response is likely to be something like 'he is so big,' 'she is wonderful,' 'I hate him.' The quality of these perceptions can be conveyed more sharply by an imaginary comparison with the factual, technically detailed answers that an obsessive-compulsive is likely to give to the same kind of question. For example, with a hysterical person, one is likely to get for an answer not facts, but impressions. These impressions may be interesting and communicative and they are very often vivid, but they remain impressions--not detail, not quite sharply defined and certainly not detailed. (pp. 111-112)

Shapiro also describes two other styles which will not claim our attention here. In between the obsessive-compulsive and the hysterical styles are the "paranoid" style and the "impulsive" style. In addition, there are variants of the impulsive style. It would take little effort to become even more complex in view of the fact that human behavior itself is complex. However, for the purpose of our discussion here, it will be necessary to focus only on the two extremes of the continuum. Shapiro's obsessive-compulsive style is equivalent to what has been presented as the atomistic-objective style. Shapiro's hysterical style is equivalent to what we have called synthetic-personal style.

A summary of the elements which describe Shapiro's two styles is presented in the following table.

Characteristics of the Obsessive-Compulsive Style

(Summarized from David Shapiro)

- A living machine (Riech)
- Rigidity in thinking
- Tense in activity
- Driven
- Perseveration even in irrelevant and absurd activity
- Dogmatic
- Opinionated
- Hard of "hearing"
- Does not pay attention to others
- Uninfluenceable
- Restriction of attention
- Stimulus bound perception
- Inflexible
- Intense sharp focus
- Concentration on detail
- Precise delineation
- Confortable with technical details
- Limited in mobility and range
- Limited for casual or immediate impression
- Hunches are rare
- Will miss the flavor
- Will not be captured by something
- Will miss the tone of a situation
- Volitional and controlled
- Uncomfortable with aimlessness
- Fear of loss of control
- Difficult to make decision (something from his regular mode of thinking)
- Decision making seen as a technical problem
- Active inattention to new influences
- Affective experience shrinks
- Work oriented
- Great quantity of work
- Absorption
- Deliberate
- Exerts effort even in play
- Self-imposed deadlines
- Thinks "I should"
- Will power
- Role bound
- Awareness (of special role)
- Propriety
- Aware of external criticism
- External expectations
- Aware of authority, rules, conventions, morals, duty
- Unchosen responsibilities
- Hard to relax
- Harsh super ego
- Inadequately integrated
- Non-work life shrinks
- Less affect
- Dry, mechanical, dull heaviness
- Deliberate in achievement of a state of mind
- Loss of the experience of conviction
- Preoccupation with technical details to the exclusion of actual persons or events
- Narrow attention permits avoidance of new information
- Misses proportions, shadings
- Ritualistic
- Technical factual memory

Characteristics of the Hysterical Style

(Compiled from David Shapiro)

- Repression
- Regression
- Reaction-formation
- Isolation of affect
- Loss or forgetting of ideational content
- General response
- Impressionistic
- Non-technical
- Global
- Diffuse
- Immediacy to striking or obvious
- No clear explanations of responses
- Accumulates impressions, not facts
- Rare among scientists and scholars
- Overlooking uncomfortable charged facts
- Pollyanna
- Romantic
- Sentimental
- Nostalgic
- Notices the vivid, colorful and emotionally charged
- Emotionally provocative
- Does not search

Characteristics of the Hysterical Style, (Continued)

Original cognitive leaves out detail
Vagueness
Bareness of content
Incapacity for persistent or intense intellectual concentration
Distractibility
Impressionability
Non-factual world
Has hunches
Inspirations
Fads
Current prejudices
Excitements
Attention easily captured
Easily interrupted
Easily surprised
Scattered thinking and expression
Deficient in factual knowledge

Is [redacted] struck
Theatrical
Exaggerated
Fantastical
Playing for fun
Avoiding answers
Impetuous
Infatuations
Labelle indifference
Indefiniteness
Outbursts
Mild mannered
Inhibited
Impulsive
Explosive

It is interesting to note that Rosalee Cohen (1971), while starting from an entirely different perspective, that of an educational researcher, has described stylistic variations which are essentially identical to Shapiro's. Cohen also posits four styles, the extreme two of which are labeled "analytical" and "relational." Her analytical style is comparable to Shapiro's obsessive-compulsive style. Her relational style is comparable to Shapiro's hysterical style. In addition, Rosalee Cohen has done a great deal of work in schools and has examined schools from the perspective of the two styles, in order to present a picture not only of the stylistic tendencies of students in schools but the stylistic tendencies of the schools themselves. She has speculated regarding the causes of dissonance between the school and certain style users. Cohen's work is particularly relevant where she has applied her understanding of behavioral styles to the area of standardized tests. It becomes quite clear when we review the following tables.

Analytical Style
(Compiled from Rosalee Cohen)

Stimulus centered
Parts-specific
Finds non-obvious attributes
Abstracts common or generalizable principle of a stimulus
Notices formal properties of a stimulus that have relatively stable and long lasting meanings
Ignores the idiosyncratic
Extracts from embedded context
Names extracted properties and gives them meaning in themselves

Long concentration span
Greater perceptual vigilance
A reflective attitude and relatively sedentary nature
Language style is standard English of controlled elaboration
Language depends upon relatively long lasting and stable meanings of words
Language depends upon formal and stable rules of organization

Analytical Style, (Continued)

Relationships tend to be linear

Relationships which are noticed tend to be static and descriptive other than functional or inferential

Relationships seldom involve process or motivation as a basis for relations

Perception of conceptual distance between observers and observed

An objective attitude--a belief that everything takes place "out there" in the stimulus

Stimulus viewed as formal, long lasting and relatively constant, therefore there is opportunity to study it in detail

Long attention span

Communications are intended to be understood in themselves, i.e., without dependence upon non-verbal cues or idiosyncratic context

"Parts of speech" can readily be seen in nonsense sentences

Analytic speech characterized by "hesitation phenomena," pauses for verbal planning by controlled vocal modulation and revision of sentence organization to convey specific meaning, since words have formal meanings

View of self tends to be in terms of status-roles

Sometimes view of self expressed as an aspect of roles such as function to be performed

The Relational Style

(Compiled from Rosalee Cohen)

Self-centered

Global

Fine descriptive characteristics

Identifies the unique

Ignores commonalities

Embedded for meaning

Relevant concepts must have special or personal relevance to observer

Meanings are unique depending upon immediate context

Generalizations and linear notions are generally unused and devalued

Parts of the stimulus and its non-obvious attributes are not given names and appear to have no meaning in themselves

Relationships tend to be functional and inferential

Since emphasis is placed on the unique and the specific, global and the discrete, on notions of difference rather than on variation or common things, the search for mechanism to form abstract generalizations is not stimulated

Responses tend to be affective

Perceived conceptual distance between the observer and the observed is narrow

Easily angered by minor frustrations

Immediacy of response

Short attention span

Short concentration span

Gestalt learners

Descriptive abstraction for word selection

Words must be embedded in specific time bound context for meaning

Few synonyms in language

Language dependent upon unique context and upon many interactional characteristics of the communicants on time and place, on inflection, muscular movements and other non-verbal cues

Fluent spoken language

Strong colorful expressions

Wide range of meaningful vocal intonation and inflection

Condensed conditions sensitivity to hardly perceptible variations of mood and tone in other individuals and in their surroundings

Poor response to timed, scheduled, preplanned activities which interfere with immediacy of response

The Relational Style, (Continued)

The field is perceived as responding to the person
The field may have a life of its own
Personification of the inanimate
Distractable
Emotional
Over involved in all activities
Tends to ignore structure
Self descriptions tend to point to essence

It is obvious that a "stylistic" bias is inherent in most standardized tests of achievement. In fact, it is the very standardization which tends to favor analytic or obsessive-compulsive or atomistic-objective style users. It is for this reason that attempts at the development of "culturally fair" assessment instruments have failed. These attempts tend simply to change the language of the tests or to reduce the contextual clues to which users may refer, thus building (as can be seen above) an even greater advantage for the atomistic-objective style user. In this case, the specific advantage is that on tests such as the Miller Analogies Test or tests involving the use of "nonsense sentences," the style user who is tolerant of the meaninglessness in the testing tasks will continue to be motivated for a much longer period than will the synthetic-personal style user. Shapiro has pointed out that in the clinic, the "obsessive-compulsive" is characterized by this very willingness to persist in tasks which have no meaning. Many clinicians have noted that the synthetic-personal style user will become bored with any detail, and especially detail which is taken out of its context. Rosalee Cohen uses as an example the word game "topping" or "capping," a game of mutual insult which is played by both children and adults through free association of verbal linkages. This open-ended or "relational" game may be contrasted with an "analytical" game like "Scrabble," a word game played by analytic style (atomistic-objective) users by forming and reforming words from their parts. Still further, Rosalee Cohen points out that flexible (synthetic-personal) style users are characterized by the writing of many qualifications on the margins of questionnaires to identify the circumstances under which their statements may hold and frequent erasures on other sub-routines from one kind of answer to another. Stories and explanations exhibit similar vacillation. Cohen points out that the approach to test items for a relational style user is to treat the item globally, whereas the analytic style user is more likely to focus on some particular small aspect of the item to the exclusion of the total. Clearly this is similar to Shapiro's polar styles. Hilliard (1973) has proposed a description of the core Afro-American cultural style. It is as follows:

1. Afro-American people tend to prefer to respond to and with "gestalts" rather than to or with atomistic things. Enough particulars are tolerated to get a general sense of things. There is an impatience with unnecessary specifics. Sometimes it seems that the predominant pattern for mainstream America is the preoccupation with particulars along with a concomitant loss of a sense of the whole. There is the belief that anything can be divided and subdivided into minute pieces and that these pieces add up to a whole. Therefore, dancing and music can be taught by the numbers. Even art is sometimes taught this way. This is why some people never learn to dance. They are too busy counting and analyzing.

2. Afro-American people tend to prefer inferential reasoning to deductive or inductive. This is related to Item 1, above.

3. Afro-American people tend to prefer approximations over accuracy to "fifty decimal places." This is related to Item 1, above.

4. Afro-American people tend to prefer a focus on people and their activities rather than things. The choice by so many students of the helping professions such as teaching, psychology, social work, and so forth cannot be explained by job availability or ease of curriculum.

5. Afro-American people have a keen sense of justice and are quick to analyze and perceive injustice.

6. Afro-American people tend to lean toward altruism, a concern for one's fellow man.

7. Afro-American people tend to prefer novelty and freedom. Witness the development of improvisations in music, styles in clothing, and so forth.

8. Afro-American people in general tend not to be "word" dependent. This is to say, there is a tendency to favor non-verbal as well as verbal communications. Words may be used as much to set a mood as to convey specific data.

While no description was given at the time of other styles, it is instructive to note the relationship between the hypothesized Afro-American cultural style, Cohen's "relational" style and Shapiro's "hysterical" style, and what we now term "synthetic-personal." Dr. Naim Akbar has also proposed a description of the Afro-American child. That description follows:

Highly affective
Language requires wide use of coined interjections (sometimes profanity)
Considerable body language
Words depend upon context for meaning and have little meaning in themselves.
Multi-connotive expressions, that is, the same word has multiple meanings.
Systematic uses of nuances of intonation and other body language, such as eye movement and positioning.
Preference for oral-aural modalities for learning communication
Highly sensitive to others' non-verbal cues
High people orientation
Sociocentric
Use of internal cues for problem solving
Highly empathic
Spontaneity
Rapid adaptation to novel stimuli

Clearly, Dr. Akbar is also describing the synthetic-personal style.

Ornstein (1972) corroborates each of the formulations which have been presented before with the addition of his hypothesis as to the cause of a choice of styles.

Both the structure and the function of these two "half brains" and sum part underlie the two modes of consciousness which simultaneously co-exist within each one of us. Although each hemisphere shares the potential for many functions and both sides participate in most activities in the normal person, the two hemispheres tend to specialize. The left hemisphere (connected to the right side of the body) is primarily involved with analytic, logical thinking, especially in verbal and mathematical functions. Its mode of operation is primarily linear. This hemisphere seems to process information sequentially. This mode of operation,of necessity,must underlie logical thought, since logic depends on sequence and order. Language and mathematics, both left hemispheric activities, also depend predominantly on linear time.

If the left hemisphere specializes for analysis, the right hemisphere (again, remember, connected to the left side of the body) seems specialized for holistic mediation. Its language ability is quite limited. This hemisphere is primarily responsible for our orientation in space, artistic endeavor, crafts, body image, recognition of faces. It processes information more diffusely than does the left hemisphere and its responsibilities demand a ready integration of many inputs at once. If the left hemisphere can be termed predominantly analytic and sequential in its operation, then the right hemisphere is holistic in relation and more simultaneous in its mode of operation.

For Rosalee Cohen, analytic and relational cognitive styles seem to develop as a consequence of primary group socialization. According to Cohen, the more structured the primary group (i.e., the family), the more likely the choice of styles is to be analytical. The more unstructured the primary group experience, the more likely the choice of styles is to be relational.

Warren TenHouten and Charles Kaplan (1973) have presented extensive data in support of Ornstein. Both Ornstein and TenHouten and Kaplan draw heavily on evidence in a variety of fields. Carlos Castaneda (1968), (1971), (1972), (1974), likewise has described the struggle between two polar styles which he refers to as "ordinary" and "separate" reality. Cedric X, Phil McGee, Luther Weems (Naim Akbar), and Wade Nobles (1975) have also hypothesized a biological basis for the origin of styles. They speculate about the evidence for the impact of melanin on emotions and actions. No matter what the origin, styles do exist.

Perhaps no one has integrated the concept of cognitive style or learning style better than Gallwey (1974). Gallwey speaks of two cells. One is analytic and particularistic and the other is holistic and relational. Gallwey suggests that harmony exists when the mind itself is quiet and that only when the mind is still will one's peak performance in the game of tennis be reached.

Ramirez and Castaneda (1975) have done an outstanding job in putting the matter of style and assessment into proper perspective. Ramirez and Castaneda use H. A. Witkin's "field-dependent" and "field-independent" categories in explaining the cognitive development of Mexican Americans.

The Expression of Style in Human Experience

While differing in detail, these various presentations which describe cognitive styles are essentially the same. Moreover, manifestations of these modalities abound in many areas of human experience. These are particularly crucial for those who work in the area of assessment. It is the failure to consider these stylistic variations of human experience as real, ever present, potent forces that has led to so much confusion in cross-cultural assessment. For example, it seems clear that the dominant cultural style in the United States in 1976 is the atomistic-objective, analytical, obsessive-comuplsive style. The tremendous success of our country in the industrial sector may be responsible for the widespread use of the industrial model as an analogue for understanding human behavior. In the industrial field there is a necessity for "mass production," for "interchangeability of parts," for "stability," "permanence," "uniformity," "conformity," and in general, "standardization." These values or necessities are also reflected in our total educational system. The list below illustrates a way of thinking about the existing school system and an alternative to that.

The School

As it is in general (Analytical, "Obsessive-compulsive")	As it could be (Relational, "Hysterical")
Rules	Freedom
Standardization	Variation
Conformity	Creativity
Memory for specific facts	Memory for essence
Regularity	Novelty
Rigid order	Flexibility
"Normality"	Uniqueness
Differences equal deficits	Sameness equals oppression
Preconceive	Improvise
Precision	Approximate
Logical	Psychological
Atomistic	Global
Egocentric	Sociocentric
Convergent	Divergent
Controlled	Expressive
Meanings are universal	Meanings are contextual
Direct	Indirect
Cognitive	Affective
Linear	Patterned
Mechanical	Humanistic
Unison	Individual in group
Hierarchical	Democratic
Isolation	Integration
Deductive	Inductive
Scheduled	Targets of opportunity
Thing focused	People focus
Constant	Evolving
Sign oriented	Meaning oriented
Duty	Loyalty

While no individual will exhibit the characteristics of any one style totally, there are modal personal orientations, and among groups, there are modal group orientations. The school reflects the dominant mode of our American culture. The school is essentially a reflection of the obsessive-compulsive or atomistic-objective style.

More important, however, is the fact that it is higher education which produces those who develop assessment procedures. More particularly, it is psychologists within the field of psychology itself which can be said to reflect both an "obsessive-compulsive" and an "hysterical" side; for example, "experimental psychology versus clinical psychology" **in a gross sense.** It is the experimentalist or the obsessive-compulsives in psychology who have produced the "standardized" instruments for assessment which are essentially obsessive-compulsive in structure and which appeal to that particular style of student. For example, test items are standard, they require *conformity* in order to gain the "right" response. Items may be thought of essentially as *interchangeable* parts from one test form to another and it is assumed that the test itself may be applied in any setting throughout the nation. The tendency on standardized tests is to require a *focus on particulars* to the exclusion of wholes and to require the student to *think in fragments* rather than to express themes in thought. For example, in the area of personality testing there is a clear distinction between the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI) and the Rorschach. The MMPI would be an example of an analytic or obsessive-compulsive device. The Rorschach, on the other hand, which allows for more free and open, creative, evocative, affective responses, would be more relational or hysterical.

A special problem presents itself in that it generally is the statistician, the hard-nosed experimentalist, the "behaviorist," who is personally or ego-invested in the development and sustenance of the IQ test. Their commitment to "pre"-conception and "pre"-fabrication of the assessment material is an expression of the style with which they are most comfortable. The highly intense commitment to the IQ test, especially paper and pencil standardized tests, can be understood by reference to Rosalee Cohen and David Shapiro. The obsessive-compulsive style is one in which the person is uncomfortable with loose ends, has a high need for control of the situation, is not particularly people oriented, etc. Under such conditions, it is understandable that those who design assessment instruments would find it difficult to value the unique, idiosyncratic, synergistic behavior pattern of the relational or hysterical style. Indeed, it would be hard for the obsessive-compulsive to accept that style as valid, if for no other reason than the simple fact that the hysterical or relational person or people would be "out of control" or "unpredictable" and therefore "threatening" to the obsessive-compulsive. Consequently, it would be hard to imagine the obsessive-compulsive assessor providing a full assessment for the "hysterical" student.

It seems clear in everyday life that there are patterns which can be explicated that describe interaction of obsessive-compulsive or hysterical style users and tasks which come from either area. If the "obsessive-compulsive" is given a "hysterical task," the obsessive-compulsive will translate that task into something more nearly resembling the obsessive-compulsive style and vice versa. For example, if the obsessive-compulsive is asked to learn an Afro-American dance such as "the bump" or "the hustle," the obsessive-compulsive is very likely to draw feet on the floor and to break the dance down into what he or she perceives to be the *component parts*, to number the steps and to try to learn the dance "piecemeal." It is also likely that the obsessive-compulsive will establish a "standard" of performance which becomes "right" or "not right." Similarly, if an hysterical is given an obsessive-compulsive task, a comparable translation will take place. Details are likely to be blurred, standards faintly adhered to, or the dance itself might be modified with no real concern for right or wrong so much as "fit" or "harmony." If it is a square dance, that dance is likely to be given rhythm or some other expression of individual creativity. It is instructive to observe what happened to the rigid, orderly quadrille dance in the hands of Africans and Afro-Americans in Liberia. It is barely recognizable as the same dance which thrilled the Southern United States for so long. It has rhythm, freedom, improvisation and expression. These "translations" or "transformations" are analogous to what happens with any task that is adopted, i.e., language, religion, music, humor, art, rhetoric, etc.

Assumptions About Behavioral Styles: Their Impact on Assessment Interactions

We believe that there is compelling evidence for the following assumptions about human behavioral styles.

1. A behavioral style is the relatively stable disposition or approach of any person to the interpretation and use of his or her experience.

2. There are several styles which can be described. Two of these are the "atomistic-objective" and the "synthetic-personal." They seem to be at opposite extremes of a continuum along which other styles may be identified.

3. A person may, with some systematic effort, change his or her basic style, to a degree, by learning and by integrating elements or aspects from other styles.

4. Since styles are the reflection of a person's basic approach to the perception, interpretation and use of experience, the style is pervasive and may be observed in any given person's expression, such as through their world view, language, music, religion, art, work, dance, problem solving, sports, writing and any other area of human expression.

5. There is a strong relationship between style and socioeconomic level.

6. There is a strong relationship between style and cultural or ethnic group membership, especially where, for whatever reason, a given culture or ethnic is also located at a traditional point on the socioeconomic scale.

7. There is no evidence whatsoever for a relationship between basic "intelligence" and style. Able people are found to the same degree among all style users. Gross error is made when given style users misunderstand the expression of intelligence through style and define intelligence myopically and solely in terms of their own styles.

8. Every style is necessary, valuable and useful in human experience if society is to function fully.

9. A "gifted" person is one who has integrated and harmonized the polar dispositions within himself or herself.

10. At a given time during a particular people's history, one or another style comes to characterize a modal thrust for that people. When that occurs to an extreme, alternative style users will experience in direct proportion to that extremity, a degree of oppression (i.e., the requirement that all people conform to one style).

11. It may be said that the "gifted" society is one which has harmonized and integrated its polar disposition and has them in balance.

12. Not only do people who are tested or assessed express a style. The people who do testing, assessment and interpretation about others' behavior are themselves expressing a style in their professional practice and approach. It is the assessor, above all, who is responsible for the way the general public comes to view stylistic variability. The misassessment of intelligence in cross-cultural settings is a case of "the pot calling the kettle white." Practice of those who do assessment reflects clearly a dominant style where the assessor frequently thinks of his or her assessment data as all there is to be assessed, since many, if not most, assessors are "mono-stylistic."

13. A given style user will take the behavior of another style user and will not experience it as that behavior actually is, but will reinterpret that experience in terms of her own experiential views or her own experiential framework ("translation" or even "transformation"), thus frequently losing the essence of the experience of the person being observed. In some cases the assessor can comprehend the experience of another style user only by actually "changing" that person's experience. The assessor who occupies an extreme position on the style continuum will be "blind" to things that actually exist in the behavior of the style user at the other end of the continuum. The user of an extreme style must do this in order to maintain his or her own personal balance. An old example in the history of assessment is the theoretical dictum, "everything that exists exists in some amount and can be measured." This theoretical dictum which was simply a statement about experimental necessity has become for many investigators an article of faith in a new religion which might be called scientific positivism (another expression of the "atomistic-objective" position).

It should be clear that if one accepts the assumptions above, all traditional activity in the area of "standardized" assessment must be examined in a new light. For example, notions such as "norm" must be reconceived. In fact, there are many "norms." In order for a norm to take on meaning, it must be viewed in terms of a given social context. Another example of needed reconceptualization is included in the attempt to seek a "standardized view" of human experience. This approach is not a "neutral" or "scientific" approach. It is, in reality, an attempt to view reality from a part of reality itself. In other words, the "standard" for viewing human behavior (a standardized test), is itself not external to the pool of things which are being observed. Users of standardized tests and assessment procedures sometimes seem to view themselves as external "objective" observers viewing human experience from Olympian heights. That may one day be possible. In 1976, however, all efforts to view human experience betray the viewer's continuing participation in deeply rooted stylistic modes.

It has been necessary to utilize a significant part of this report for the discussion of style. This is because we find style to be a central problem for any approach to assessment. Those who have personal and/or financial investment in standardized approaches to assessment cannot be expected to greet such an assertion with happy expectation. The implications for assessment are clear. While it may be possible to think in standardized terms about themes in human behavior, it is impossible to standardize the particulars of human experience which will reveal the variety in themes. What we have had heretofore in standardized tests of intelligence has been the implicit requirement not only that behavioral themes must be thought of or approached in standard fashion, the *particular information* through which we learn about behavioral themes is also standardized, limited, or restricted. Therefore, we have come to a point where "intelligence" can be measured only through a specific language, and even worse, within that specific language only through a highly specific standard vocabulary. Yet, that is not the worst. That highly specific standard vocabulary must *maintain its meaning* across generations of American citizens. Particular test problems and *particular* responding modes on standardized tests are enshrined and become the portals through which all must pass, no matter what their shape, in order for their experience to be validated. It can be seen immediately that such an approach is highly suitable to the requirements of the industrial analogy. If everything is standardized and uniform, then mass production, interchangeability of parts, economy, predictability, and familiarity are guaranteed. If those are the ends of assessment, then we need to go no further. However, if the end of assessment is to discover the truth about the dynamics of human behavior in all its complexity, then we must leave room for information about all aspects of that behavior to be perceived. It is necessary, therefore, to move beyond the superficial treatment of a mono-stylistic approach to the assessment and interpretation of human experience in order to approach the development of an alternative to existing tests of intelligence for the discovery of the ability misassessed, be they people of color or otherwise.

CHAPTER V

Anecdotal and Other Material to Illustrate the Expression of Behavioral Style

It is necessary at this point to offer examples of the application of the principles which have been explicated through the assumptions about style which were listed in the previous chapter. In order to do this, three areas of common human experience have been selected as examples, religion, music, and language. Many other areas could have been selected and treated in exactly the same fashion. The intent in selecting these examples and in giving some detailed treatment is to illustrate the validity of the concept of style and the fact that "intelligence" or "attitude" is a function which is independent of, or more precisely, which is expressed through behavioral style.

The Expression of Behavioral Style in Religion

By using Afro-American religions, practice and experience, and by contrasting that general experience with the general experience of Euro-Americans, the utility of the construct of "style" as an analytical tool should become apparent. It should also be clear that each tradition springs from a unique historical development and can be understood only by reference to that history. Idowu (1975) and Mbiti (1969) represent the most recent serious study of African religion. Both have been trained in Western as well as in African theology and from that perspective offer very helpful information. Idowu makes an early observation of the cultural encapsulation of Western theologians which prevent them from understanding religion in any full sense. "Unfortunately, by and large, the theologian of today is a very handicapped person. To begin with, he still lives with the age-old erroneous notion that only one religion, namely Christianity, has theology, which makes nonsense of the linguistic, connotational significance of the word. Recently the question of the degree of the Doctor of Divinity, one of the highest degrees to be awarded in the universities of Africa, arose and the demurrer was raised that the "D.D." had always been awarded in connection with Christian theology; "that, therefore, it might comprise a department whose avowed position was that of religion as a comprehensive discipline. The corollary to this is obvious: a Doctor of Divinity is incompatible with Islamic studies, and very much less so with a thing like African traditional religion!" (p. 10) The opinions of external observers of African religious belief and practices not only reveal the misunderstanding and misjudgement of the African belief system, more importantly, these opinions are classical illustrations of observers establishing their own world-view as a "norm" and viewing other world-views as "deviations" from that norm. Such an approach is similar to the approach in testing which we have called "Type I Question," "Do you know what I know?"

> Other terms employed to describe African religion include: animism, totemism, fetishism, and naturism. We need not go into them here. These and the previous terms show clearly how little the outside world has understood African religion. Some of the terms are being abandoned as more knowledge comes to light. But the fact remains that African religions and philosophy have been subjected to a great deal of misinterpretation, misrepresentation and misunderstanding. They have been despised, mocked, and dismissed as 'primitive' and 'underdeveloped.' One needs only to look at the earlier titles and accounts to see derogatory language used, prejudiced descriptions given and false judgement passed upon these religions. In missionary

> circles they have been condemned as superstition, satanic, devilish, and hellish. In spite of all these attacks, traditional religions have survived and they dominate the background of African people and must be reckoned with even in the middle of modern change. (p. 10)

Mbiti conducted an extensive study covering nearly three hundred people from all over Africa outside the traditionally Christian and Muslim communities. In all these societies, without a single exception, Mbiti found that the people have a notion of God as the supreme being and that this was the most minimal and fundamental idea about God found in all African societies. Idowu (1975) found that in Africa as a whole there are really five component elements that go into the making of African traditional religion. These components are:

1. Belief in God
2. Belief in the divinity
3. Belief in spirits
4. Belief in the ancestors
5. Belief in the practice of magic and medicine

We have already indicated earlier (Griaule, 1965) that a complex and highly developed world-view and religious belief system was characteristic of the Dogon. The same can be said for other African tribes as well. Even a cursory review of the elements which go to make up an African belief system should show that these systems cannot be understood solely from the framework of a European belief system. This brings us to the fundamental principle of cross-cultural assessment. That is why the "Type Two Question," "What is it that you know" must always be asked if the truth about "intelligence" or "aptitude" is to be discovered.

In describing African religion further, Mbiti makes the following point:

> No line is drawn between the spiritual and the physical. Even life in the hereafter is conceived in the materialistic and physical terms. It is neither paradise to be hoped for nor hell to be feared. The soul of man does not long for spiritual redemption, or for closer contact with God in the next world. This is an important element in traditional religion, and one that will help us understand the concentration of African religiosity on earthly matters, with man at the center of this religiosity. It is here also that the question of the African concept of time is so important. Traditional religion and philosophy are concerned with man in past and present time. God comes into the picture as an explanation of man's contact with time. There is no messianic or apocalyptic vision of God stepping in at some future moment to bring about a radical reversal of man's normal life. God is not pictured as an ethical, spiritual relationship with man. Man's acts of worship and turning to God are pragmatic and utilitarian rather than spiritual or metaphysical.

In short, according to Mbiti, African traditional religion is not dualistic, and permeates the totality of man's orientation to his environment. Mitchell (1975) has expressed a contrasting view which comes from Western thought.

> In the Western view, man, the enemy of all things in the natural world, seeks constantly to control and to exploit both his environment and his fellow human being. Even though 'sunny' African existence requires hard work and is plagued by such things as tsetse flies, the African had outward as well as inward reasons to be less aggressive and more trustful of the universe and its creator.

If Western religious beliefs can be described as one where the believer sees himself or herself as distinct from other parts of the environment, then we have one of the defining characteristics of the atomistic-objective style. The observer in this sense considers himself or herself to be less a part of the environment being observed. Mitchell (1975) points out that African religions have neither "founders" nor "reformers" and that they have neither "authorized versions" or "canonical scriptures." Their religions simply flow out of the life of the people. Clearly this is a much more open-ended approach to belief and would conform to many of the characteristics which we have listed as "synthetic-personal." Such an orientation contrasts quite clearly with religion which is expressed as "orthodox," "authorized," "disciplined," and "formally ritualized." Idowu (1975) agrees with Mbiti that the African situation is one in which life is not divided artificially into the sacred or the secular. Instead, the African tends to see reality as a whole, in which the things of the earth (material things and man's daily activities) have meaning only in heavenly (spiritual) terms. On the matter of formality, Idowu indicates that every cult has its set liturgy and that the liturgy consists of the pattern as well as the subject matter of the worship service. These liturgies are, of course, unwritten. An interesting point for our consideration here is that if the participants in the liturgy are asked to recite outside the context of actual worship, Idowu found that very often it is either inaccurately or stumblingly said. The world-view perception and activity in this synthetic-personal style is such that things take on meaning and feel natural only *in a given context* and not abstracted from that context. Idowu contrasts this attitude toward religious experience with contemporary atomistic-objective theological analysis.

> Worse still, the theologian of today considers himself modern if he adopts the *laboratory methods* in the sense of researching and teaching *without being personally and emotionally involved*. Thus he has become more and more *theoretical and abstract* to the detriment of of truth which he is expected to be speaking and imparting.
>
> (p. 10) [Italics mine]

The total integration of religion with all other aspects of life in Africa has been described even more fully by Mbiti. (1969)

> Africans are notoriously religious and each people has its own religious system with a set of beliefs and practices. Religion permeates all the departments of life so fully that it is not easy or possible always to isolate it...Traditional religions are not primarily for the individual but for his community which he is a part...A number of beliefs and practices are to be found in the African society; these are not, however, formulated into a systematic set of dogmas which a person is expected to accept. People simply assimilate whatever religious ideas and practices are held or observed by their families and communities...Where the individual

> is, there is his religion, for he is a religious being and it is this that makes Africa so religious; religion is in their whole system of being...One of the difficulties in studying African religion and philosophies is that there are no sacred scriptures. Religion in African society is written not on paper but in people's hearts, minds, work history, rituals, and religious personages, like the priest, rainmakers, officiating elders and even kings...so then belief and action in an African traditional society cannot be separated; they belong to a single whole...traditional religions have no missionaries to propagate them and one individual does not preach his religion to another...there is little if any concern with the distinctly spiritual welfare of man apart from his physical life; no line is drawn between the spiritual and the physical. Even life in the hereafter is conceived in materialistic and physical terms (pp. 1-5).

An approach or attitude such as that above is in clear contrast to a religion which requires *proselytizing*, *written scriptures*, *permanent dogma*, and *isolated religious practice*. Indeed, for people who experience religion only in such atomistic-objective fashion, it is virtually impossible to make sense of the African religious experience. As observers, they will find it hard to "see" an alternative approach, since they will be umprepared to accept it as valid.

The values of standardization, uniformity, precision, and codification of belief are clearly derivatives of a European tradition and world-view. In Africa, the expression of religious belief and practice was *approximate*, *thematic*, and *popular*.

> The matter of translation of this oral literature is problematical. There is *no 'authorized' version of a tradition any more than there can be an official version of a Negro spiritual*. I have seen in my own sources as many as three versions of the same proberb in the original tongue. This variety of versions produces a *variety of interpretations* in subtle ways serving only to further complicate the already confused implication. Compounding this difficulty is a gap between English and the African language. Thus it becomes understandable why such a survey of Black belief has not been attempted by more Black scholars in America. And Mbiti is the only African scholar to attempt a religious view of African folk belief.
> (Mitchell, 1975, pp. 64-65) [Italics mine]

The experience of many Afro-Americans in the United States in 1975 cannot be understood except through recourse to a study of historical roots in Africa and a study of African retentions in the Afro-Americans' experience in America. (Herskovitz, 1941) It is also recognized that in addition to African retentions there is a new set of experiences which has been accommodated and integrated to form the *Afro-American* core experience. Afro-Americans in the United States today differ in terms of the degree to which they participate in a "core" Afro-American experience. This is due to the many different social environmental factors. However, by tracing the development of the Afro-American experiences and by comparing contemporary core Afro-American experiences with world-views and behaviors on the African continent, an understanding of contemporary Afro-American behavior is possible. The same can be said of Chinese, Mexican, French, Native American, Irish, or any other cultural group.

The early slaves in America did not, as some history has taught, come as empty vessels. The restricted experience of slavery and later segregation, far from eliminating all elements of an African belief system, actually acted to preserve many of those elements.

> The early slave then was not an eager animist without religious belief. Rather in many ways he was already a 'Christian' believer and practitioner. His apparent openness to the Christian faith stemmed from his desire to follow his strong religious bent in a manner more consistent with his heritage...Slaves, not masters, took the initiative to translate their African beliefs into English and into Christian terms. They sorted through the Christian Bible and selected the ideas useful to them in the new slave experience. By the time the masters were willing to concede souls to slaves, satisfied that the Christian faith could be used to enforce obedience and increase market value, the slaves had long since established an underground version of the true faith, and they were well along on their own 'invisible institution' or underground church. (Mitchell, 1975, p. 10)

Not only did a unique Afro-American theology develop among many Afro-Americans, it became the vehicle through which the distinctly Afro-American behavioral styles were expressed. For example, it is quite clear that the predominant preaching style of early Afro-American preachers and the preaching styles of Euro-American preachers were quite different. If any investigator doubts this, it is very easy, even today, to demonstrate the difference simply by having Euro-American and Afro-American preachers representing the two traditions exchange pulpits.

> This independence is evidenced by the frequent appearance in the slave narrative of a strong preference for Black preachers rather than White. The Whites who were able to preach with any success at all noted that the response seemed to be to tonality, gesture, emotion, as opposed to what they considered acceptable conduct. In their Euro-American ignorance, they were unaware of the cultural signals by which they had inadvertently affirmed African identity. The sounds and signs that constituted a Black communication code, easily understood by members of the largely independent slave culture, were mistaken by Whites for gullibility and ignorance, whereas in fact, slaves were really culturally almost self-sufficient and very intelligent. That they were perfectly capable of reading White faces and of sorting out Biblical ideas, was proven more than once when they responded with utter indifference or even in foot-voting (walking out) after an obnoxious pro-slavery sermon. (Mitchell, 1975, p. 33)

Henry Mitchell says that perhaps the most significant single overt indication of Afro-American culture or style as it pertains to religion is the freedom of expression observed in the pulpit and in the congregation of any given Black church. When an Afro-American congregation resists White style and conformity and engages in free expression, it imports high importance to the feelings of the person. This valuing of improvisation and feeling and resistance to conformity are characteristics of the synthetic-personal style that permeates all aspects of the experience of the person who practices that style.

It is instructive to examine the freedom in the orientation of some Afro-Americans toward religious scriptures and, by extrapolation, any written material.

> The Black preacher is more likely to think of the Bible as an inexhaustible source of good preaching material than as an inert doctrinal and ethical authority. He sees it as full of insights--warm and wise and relevant to the everyday problems of a Black man. It provides the basis for unlimited creativity in telling of rich and interesting stories, and these narrations commanded rapt attention while the eternal truth is brought to bear on the Black experience and the struggle for liberation. The Bible undergurds remembrance and gives permanent relevance to whatever illuminates discernment.
>
> The Black preacher does not merely use the Bible; at best, he lets the Bible use him. His intuitive flexible approach to the Bible leads him to ask, 'What is the Lord trying to tell me today in this passage of the scripture,' or 'What answer for today's need does the whole sweep of the New Testament give,' and 'How may I see it and tell it in the language of my people.' The Black preacher is not addicted to pat legalistic or literalistic answers; they do not work for him.
>
> The Black preacher avoids the dead, irrelevant formulations expressed in the language and the vision of the past. When he is caught using such a crutch, he is probably desperate for material and plagiarizing; or else he has lost some of his 'Blackness' by studying in some White schools of theology. At his natural best, the Black preacher is not so concerned with historical 'objective' truth as with what might be called religious truth. *He has no intention of making the Bible a textbook in science*. For one thing, when he is preaching he is probably not interested in science. Rather he is interested in the Bible as a reliable index of God's will for man and in this broad concern, science finds its proper perspective as one aspect of a larger reality. (Mitchell, 1970, pp. 113-114) [Italics mine]

Once again it becomes clear that *freedom*, *improvisation*, *creativity*, *expression* and *flexibility* are shown to be valued. Henry Mitchell illustrates this even further by tape recording Black preachers who used manuscripts. He found that when they use manuscripts well, nearly all of them engage in interludes of completely *spontaneous elaborations* or illustrations, and that when this happens, the messages were plainly more effective than when the passages were simply read. It is important to note as we pay attention to Mitchell's analysis of 'Black preaching' and 'Black belief,' that neither of these things is defined as an 'incomplete European religious system.' Rather the Afro-American belief and practice grows out of a special tradition and has its own integrity. Another example from Mitchell will help to fill out the description of a dominant Afro-American style.

> The most certain statement one can make about Black preaching style is that nothing is certain or fixed...the first thing that must be said about unusual mannerisms is that the Black congregation is very permissive. It accepts a considerable variety of behaviors unrelated to the message in order (consciously or unconsciously) to free

> preachers to be themselves. One preacher in wide demand by Blacks and Whites pops his suspenders when he is really caught up in his message. Another unbuttons his collar and seems to dig his chin into his chest. Another has proclaimed for years, 'Bless my bones'; still another starts his sermon only after a long and unbelievably intense, even stern, glare at the congregation. Black culture Christians tend to enjoy mannerism provided they are natural and they add interest and signal freedom and authentic personhood in which the congregation participates vicariously. The Black culture preacher does not have to develop a striking mannerism or trade mark in order to be counted valid, but it certainly is not a handicap if he happens to engage in strange and colorful action peculiar to himself alone. Individuality is celebrated and acceptance is communicated by the congregation in a way enjoyed by all who have not bowed to the Baal of White conformity. (Mitchell, 1970, pp. 162-163)

The descriptions which Mitchell has given can be observed in a great number of Afro-American congregations in 1976. In the examples above, the following specific values or aspects of behavioral style (synthetic-personal) can be identified:

1. Improvisation
2. Expressiveness
3. Emotion
4. Flexibility
5. Intuitiveness
6. Imagination
7. People focus
8. "Individual" existing in the group
9. Novelty
10. Uniqueness
11. Thematic

It is also well to note that many of these same characteristics would be strange, if not intolerable, to many worshipers in churches which follow Euro-American religious traditions, i.e., Catholic, Lutheran, Episcopalian, Methodist Episcopal, and so forth.

Students of religion will note very quickly that some Afro-Americans do not participate in religious traditions as described by Mitchell. They will also note that some Euro-Americans appear to follow a tradition quite similar to that described by Mitchell. In truth it must be said that while ethnic group membership frequently is associated with a given pattern, behavioral style, or religious belief, clearly there are overlapping exceptions to the rule.

Afro-American Music as an Expression of the Synthetic-personal Style

Perhaps no better documented area of the variety of human experiences in the United States exists than that of music. As a consequence, our examination of this area will be more detailed than the preceding area of religious belief and practice. As was the case with religious belief and practice, we can examine the area of musical expression and find in it at least three different ways, evidence for the contrasting style of atomistic-objective and synthetic-personal. At this point the descriptions of the "obsessive-compulsive" style and the "hysterical" style by David Shapiro can be reviewed with much benefit. The three things which are important to note are: 1) The Euro-American has tended to perceive the Afro-American experience from the point of view of the Type One question (Do you know what I know?); 2) The traditional concept of "norm" takes on fresh meaning when placed in a given cultural context, and has little or no meaning when interpreted from the "norm" of another culture tradition; 3) The values expressed in the Afro-American musical tradition are almost totally congruent with the synthetic-personal style, Shapiro's hysterical style, Cohen's relational style, Hilliard's Afro-American style, Weem's Black style, and several other expressions of style. (Ornstein, 1974), (Ramirez and Castaneda, 1974), (Witkin, 1967), (TenHouten, 1973)

Baraka (LeRoi Jones, 1963) gives an interesting view of the contrast between European (Euro-American) and African (Afro-American) music:

> While the whole European tradition tries for *regularity* of pitch of of time, of timbre, and of vibrato, the African tradition strives for the negation of these elements. In language the African tradition aims at *circumlocutions* rather than at the *exact definition*. The direct statement is considered crude and unimaginative; the veiling of all contents in ever changing *paraphrases* is considered the criterion of excellence of personality. In music, the same tendency toward *obliquity and ellipsis* is noticeable; no note is attacked straight; the voice or instrument always approaches it from above or below, plays around the implied pitch without ever remaining any length of time, and departs from it without ever having committed itself to a single meaning. The timbre is *veiled* and *paraphrased* by constantly changing, by vibratto, tremolo, and overtone effects. The timing and accentuations finally are not stated, but *implied* or *suggested*, denying or withholding all sign posts. (Jones citing Borneman, 1963, p. 31) [Italics mine]

Ben Sidran (1971 supports Baraka's description. He states that the White aesthetic was summed up by Benny Goodman who said, "I am such a bug on *accuracy* and *performance* about *playing in tune* and want just the *proper note values*...in the *written parts*, I wanted it to sound as *exactly* as the band could possibly make it." On the other hand, Ben Sidran notes that Afro-American musicians even in the big band context develop idioms that relied on no written parts. *Count Basie's big band had up to 17 men playing harmonically and rythmically advanced music without any written music*! It is noted that the Black player, even as he was becoming more involved with harmonic exploration tended to use his "ear" rather than to read music. The Afro-American musician played off-beat in order to avoid the stagnant feel of Goodman's on-the-beat. The Black musician chose to rely on increased vocalization or "tone impurity" to help to break through the passage detatchment of big band work and to return to the emotional jazz idiom.

White musicologists (analogous to cross-cultural assessment of intelligence) have always had great difficulty in understanding and explaining or interpreting Afro-American music. For example, Jones (1963) cites White musicologists of the 18th and 19th centuries and even some in the 20th century who spoke of the "aberation" of the diatonic scale in African music. Apparently the musicologists were unable to understand that Africans were not using a diatonic scale but an

African scale, a scale that would seem ludicrous when analyzed by normal methods of Western musicology. Jones (1967) shows that such misperceptions by cross-cultural assessors of Afro-American musical tradition have continued to the present decade.

> The musicological analysis of jazz which has come into favor recently is also as limited as a means of jazz criticism as a strict sociological approach. The notator of any jazz solo or blues has no chance of capturing what is in effect the most important elements of music (most transcriptions of blues lyrics are just as frustrating). A printed musical example of an Armstrong solo or of a Thelonious solo tells us almost nothing except the futility of formal musicology when dealing with jazz. Not only are the various jazz effects almost impossible to notate, but each note means something quite in adjunct to musical notation. The notes of a jazz solo exist in the notation strictly for musical reasons. The notes of a jazz solo as they are coming into existence, exist as they do for reasons that are only concomitantly musical. Coleman's cries are not "musical" but they are music, and quite moving music. Ornette Coleman's screams and rants are only musical once one understands the music his emotional attitude seeks to create. This attitude is real and perhaps the most singularly important aspect of his music. Mississippi Joe Williams, Snooks Eagalian, Lightning Hopkins, have different emotional attitudes than Ornette Coleman. But all of these attitudes are continuous parts of the historical and cultural biography of the Negro as it has existed and developed since there was a Negro in America and a music that could be associated with him that did not exist anywhere else in the world. (pp. 14-15)

Once analyzed by Western standards the Western critic or listener according to Jones, (1963), will then utilize his own Western standards as a "norm." For example, a Western listener will criticize atonal and timbral qualities of an African or an Afro-American singer, whose singing has a completely alien end as a "standard of excellence."

The African singer or Afro-American blues singer may have a hoarse or shrill quality. Among some critics this quality has been attributed to their, "lack of proper vocal training," disregarding or in ignorance of the fact that among Africans and Afro-Americans, this quality comes as a consequence of a conscious desire which is dictated by the culture and which is designed to produce a calculated effect. Jones points out that a traditional Afro-American singer and a Wagnerian tenor cannot be compared to one another in any way. "They issue from cultures that almost have nothing in common and the music they make is equally alien to each other." Jones says,"For a Westerner to say that the Wagnerian tenor's voice is 'better' than the African singer's or the Afro-American blues singer, is analogous to a non-Westerner disparaging Beethoven's Ninth Symphony because, 'it wasn't improvised.'" The Western concept of the "cultivation" of the voice is foreign to African and to most Afro-American music. In the West, "only the artifact can be beautiful. Mere expression cannot be thought to be." (Jones, 1963, pp. 29-30)

African music was, according to Jones:

> ...purely "functional" music whose songs were used by young men to influence young women, or they might be used by workers to make their tasks easier. It might be used by older men to prepare the adolescent boy for manhood and so forth. On the other hand, "serious" Western music, except for the early religious music, has been strictly an "art." One would not, for example, think of any particular use for Hayden's Symphony, except for perhaps "cultivation of the soul." "Serious music" (a term that could only have extra-religious meaning in the West) has never been an integral part of Western life; no art has been since the renaissance...but in the West, the "triumph of the economic mind over the imaginative," as Brooks Adam said, made possible this dreadful split between life and art. (Jones, 1963, pp. 28-29)

It is particularly relevant to our consideration of behavioral style and its relationship to cross-cultural assessment that we note the "translation" phenomenon. This was discussed in earlier chapters when we described the person who uses the atomistic objective style. As he or she encounters content or tasks from the synthetic-personal domain, we may expect an attempt to be made to "reconceive" and to "translate" the phenomenon or task into a more familiar framework and vice versa. For example, LeRoi Jones says that although the White middle brow had known about Negro music only for about three decades, he was already trying to *formalize* and finally *institutionalize* it. [Italics mine] For Jones it was a hideous idea. Ben Sidran (1971) spoke of the reaction of the White music critic (another example of "translation") when Blacks continued to follow developmental lines rather than the "rules."

> The Black musician, in taking the process of cultural definition into his own hands, infuriated a vast number of Whites. Two major trends pointed to the growing hostility of Whites toward modern Black music. The first was the emergence of the New Orleans 'revivalist's' movement, which was spearheaded by White 'purists,' who sought to apply both asthetic and economic pressure to hold back the growing wave of 'modernism'...the debate became so fanatic that the influential critic Hugues Panassie went so far as to refer to bop as 'heresy.' Panassie's attitude, not uncommon among White critics in the '40's, was significant for several reasons. First, it indicated the extent to which some Whites had become committed to Black music, for to refer to an idiom of Black expression as a 'heresy' is to imply that alternative idioms of Black expression had been accepted as 'gospel.'
>
> (Sidran, 1971, p. 97)

The situation got so bad that musical criticism was only able to redeem itself many years later. Jones (1963) points out that the characteristic criticism of "be-bop" in jazz fan magazines like *Down Beat* was so bad that they only recently had to re-review the classical be-bop records by such greats as Charlie Parker and Thelonious Monk. Then, at this late date, they have given them wild acclaim, because the first reviews seemed to be so wrong-headed. Typical of the early comments are those cited by Jones which were expressed by jazz critic Rudy Blesh in the Herald Tribune:

> The irrelevances of be-bop are exactly what they seem; they add up to no unity, to capricious and neurotically rhapsodic sequences of effects for their own sake. Be-bop comes precariously close to complete nonsense as a musical expression...far from a culmination of jazz, be-bop is not jazz at all, but an ultimately degenerated form of swing exploiting the most fantastic rhythms and unrelated harmony that it would seem possible to conceive. (Jones, 1963, pp. 189-190)

Quite clearly this critic was not simply expressing criticism, but a whole value system that was totally antithetical to that which has been described here as synthetic-personal. This critic apparently sought "order," "permanence," "imitation," "conformity," "regularity," and so forth. It is also important to note not only that these were apparent values of the critic, but that this critic sought to impose those values on musicians whose expressions came from a totally different experiential frame of reference. They were unable to understand that there could be more than one "norm." Once again, this is analagous to the work of psychometric or other assessments which are made cross-culturally.

Cuthbert Simpkins (1975), in speaking of another jazz critic, summarized the basic problem in cross-cultural musical assessment:

> Hentoff's statement reveals at least three common failings of the critics of Black music, possibly music of any culture. He exhibits the arrogance which blinds him to the fact that he has not mastered the saxophone and therefore is incompetent to make statements like "Coletrane...continues to improve." Secondly, he confuses inability with honest differences, writing,"...Coletrane's tone is often strident at the edges and rarely appears able to sustain legatto softness as Getz can." Hentoff seems not to have considered the possibility that each musician may have his particular sound because he likes it, not because he can't produce a particular sound; thirdly, there is bias. *Hentoff would like to hear certain types of "softness" in the record.* This is a value judgment which indicates shallow thinking not unique to Hentoff. He states that gentle sounds are more complex to do,...that the "power" in Coletrane's playing as "spontaneous emotion" is less complex. Who could say that power is simpler than gentleness. *Hentoff seems to have one standard to which he would like every musician to adhere.* (Simpkins, 1975, pp. 63-64) [Italics mine]

What has been revealed in this examination of musical criticism is more the critic's personal preference or attitude toward what music is "supposed" to be than a description of what jazz is. The critic's criteria are applied not only to Black music but to all American music as well. However, these criteria are simply one alternative from among many for thinking about music. Clearly the Afro-American, in general, has come from a tradition quite different from that of the European. Ben Sidran has captured a part of the essence of the Afro-American aesthetic. He shows that the ability to experience and to communicate "emotional" content on a broad level is a salient characteristic of the Afro-American musical tradition. He points to "oral man's" failure to "detatch intellectually" from experience, and his unwillingness to "categorize," "specialize," or "analyze" experience. Ultimately, this has been a strong point in the survival of Afro-American music in American culture. Note that this criticism is really a reflection of atomistic-objective values.

Afro-American music can be described in its own right, without unduereference to the Euro-American cultural stream. Jones (1963) shows that melodic diversity in African music came not only from the actual arrangement of notes, but from the singer's unique vocal "interpretation." In the African tradition, the meaning of a word might be changed simply by altering the pitch of a word or changing its stress. This signal system carried over into musical expression. It has already been pointed out that African music is "functional." It is "improvised," "spontaneous," "social," "free," "emotional," "flexible," "expressive," and "intuitive." These characteristics are very close to the description that we have made of the synthetic-personal style.

Taylor (1975) has summarized the contrast between Western and Non-Western (African music) using Charles Keel's graph. This contrast is also very close to our contrast of the atomistic-objective and synthetic-personal styles.

Characteristics	European/Western	African/Non-Western
Mode of construction	composed	improvised
Mode of presentation	repeated performance	single performance
Mode of understanding	syntactic	processual
Mode of response	mental	motor
Guiding principles	architectonic (retentive)	"visual drive" (cumulative)
Technical emphasis	harmony-melody-embellishment-vertical	pulse-meter-rhythm-horizontal
Basic units	"sound term" (phrase)	gesture (phrasing)
Communication analogues	linguistic	para-linguistic
Gratification	deferred	immediate
Relevant criteria	coherence	spontaneity

In the Afro-American musical tradition the "solo" is rare (Oliver, 1970). As has been mentioned before, the "writing" or "phrasing" of much Afro-American music transforms it into something else. For example, Janet Robinson-Murphy complained about how inadequate the song books were for the Jubilee Singers. She mentioned:

> There was nothing in the song books to show the singer that he must make his voice exceedingly nasal and undulating, that around every prominent note he must place a variety of small notes called "trilling" and that he must sing notes not found in our scale; that he must on no account leave one note until he has the next one well under control. He might be tempted...to take breaths whenever he came to the end of a line or verse, but he should carry over his breath from line to line and from verse to verse, even at the risk of bursting a blood vessel. He must often drop from a high note to a very low one. He must be very careful to divide many of his monosyllabic words into two syllables...He must intersperse his singing with peculiar humming sounds--"hum-m-m-m." (Oliver, 1970, p. 66)

Another integral aspect of the traditional Afro-American style in music is "playing by ear." Locke (1969) pointed out that the Afro-American musician had a whole chain of musical expertise. He had to have a musical "ear" and an "instinctive" feeling for harmony as well as the "courage" and gift to "improvise" and "interpolate." Finally, he had to have an uncanny sense for "total effect." When musicians are required to read music in order to play, the dominant value which is expressed is "pre-conception," whereas, when a musician masters the art of "playing by ear," the dominant value is "creative conception." At its best, as in the music of Ornette Coleman or other improvising soloists such as Charley Parker, their purely extemporaneous statements cannot be reproduced by any notation (Jones, 1963). Indeed, to do so would be a fundamental violation of the value system of their behavioral style. Traditionally, the jazz musician's music has been created out of the interaction between the combo and the audience. Feedback from the audience has played a major role in that creativity. There simply is no way to notate feedback, to reproduce it or to pre-conceive it. The values expressed in either style are appropriate to that style. To judge one by the standards of the other is pure insanity.

Early Afro-American music, like even earlier African music, was also primarily "communal."

> Primitive jazz, like most Afro-American music that preceded it, was a communal collective music. Famous primitive ensemble styles of early jazz allowed "off-breaks" or small solo like statements by individual players, but the formal intent of these breaks was still dominated by the formal intent of the ensemble; they were usually just quasi-melodic punctuations at the end of the ensemble chords. Jazz, even at the time of Oliver's Creole Band, was still a matter of collective improvisation, though the Creole Band did bring a smoother and more polyphonic technique to the ensemble style.
> (Jones, 1963, pp. 155-156)

One of the most time-honored aspects of Afro-American music is "freedom" and "improvisation." The traditional Afro-American musician detests cliches. They strongly resist confinement.

> He (John Coltrane) didn't wear socks and hadn't worn underwear since he was eighteen. He disliked anything that was restrictive, from music to the clothes he wore. Once asked about utilizing Shoenberg's twelve tone system in his improvisations, his answer was "damn the rules; it's the feeling that counts; you play all twelve notes in your solo anyway." Around the house he would flop around in old, soft shoes with the back of his shirt half-way out in a comfortable carefree manner. When in Philadelphia he once bought some new stylish shoes, but they were uncomfortable and he wore them only long enough to show his mother. (Simpkins, 1975, p. 107)

Not only did Coletrane resist conformity in music, he refused to impose conformity on others.

> Look man, I can't tell anybody how to play their instrument. I can just about play the saxaphone. I'm busy working on that. I can't tell anybody how to play their instrument, so don't ask me. Just music is the subject matter, this is what we're doing.
> (Simpkins, 1975, p. 127)

An interesting variation, and approach to improvisation, occurs often in many Afro-American churches. Fauste (1944) has observed that often there is only a piano to accompany the singing in church, and that an interesting thing about the player of the piano is that he usually picks up the melody according to the key of the singer. This reverses the practice in orthodox churches where the instrumentalist first gives the key to the singer and the singer follows. It should be clear that the value of spontaneity is served to a greater degree for the singer if the singer has the "freedom" to initiate the desired key. In another musical tradition this might be intolerable. It's a matter of style!

Ben Sidran reports on an anecdote that is both comical and instructive about Afro-American and Euro-American musicians.

> King Oliver who ultimately brought Armstrong up from the South and with him Armstrong's first recording, had an elaborate system of signals worked out with his man to keep his improvizational techniques a secret from others; he would use these signals, for example, after his playing when the 'alligators' would take out their pens and pencils and copy down his music on napkins, table cloths, and even shirt cuffs. This professional jealousy had a very subtle effect on Black socialization. On the one hand it seemed to stimulate and increase the importance of innovation, or at least of individuation within a normally group-oriented society. On the other hand, the stress on the individual tended to alter slightly the warm, "extended family" pattern of socialization in the South and to replace this greater group interrelation with small musical 'in groups' or 'clans.' This 'in-grouping' is perhaps a central cause of the exoticism of Black music in the urban ghetto, as each 'clan' attempted to outperform and surpass rival groups with even bolder innovations.

It can be seen through such examples that the African and early Afro-American styles are evolutionary, are modified by and modify any musical tradition that it touches.

It was mentioned earlier that "writing" traditional Afro-American music operated as a constraint on the performers who came from an expressive tradition. It has been noted by some, that the advent of recordings produced the same restrictive effect. As Ben Sidran has indicated, not only did recordings "freeze" music and allow critical "distance" and "preconception" to develop, but because of the three minute time limit of the early electronic recordings, the extended improvisations of the Afro-American were curtailed. The musicians were forced to encapsulate their ideas, to pre-structure their "improvisations" in order to fit the record. Moreover, they had to aim their music at a "technological" rather than a "human source" of feedback. This forced Afro-American musicians to accommodate by developing a sense of abstraction and a new professional distance from their music.

A word should be said about improvisation. Occasionally it seems to the Western observer that improvisations are totally free and that there are no "rules." In improvisation, however, the theme structures the performance. An example from Africa is cited by Oliver:

> The crossing of the beat must be established after that is done. Additional drums may be added with main beats of the bar coinciding

> with one or other of those already beating, Father Jones has explained, but with a different rhythm; or in the case of the master drum, once the first two drums have established a cross rhythm, he may do just what he likes. He usually creates a series of rhythm patterns whose main beat crosses at least one of the other drums. Professor Nketia pointed out that the rhythms are conceived either unilinearly with the pattern 'assigned to one drum or a pair of drums played by one man or to many drums played by different men. In the latter case, a number of the same types of drums or different drums may be playing a particular set of rhythms together;' or multi-linearly where 'a number of rhythm patterns or adopting different sequences of patterns in such a way as to off-set some beats of their respective patterns.' Against these may be played hand claps, often by two or three individuals or groups of people whose clapped rhythms are also played against each other while the 'gong' or clapperless bells establish a metronomic time signal. The suggestion that the master drummer may 'do just what he likes' is rather misleading, for the length and character of the rhythm phrases are determined by the function, the nature of the dance, and the 'piece' that is being performed. Improvisation is, in fact, very strictly controlled. As Nakasha has pointed out in the paper on the music of the Gah people, 'The drummers of an ensemble cannot just drum what catches their fancy, they have to know what is required of them in respect to rhythm and tone, they have to know the basic parts assigned to each drum and how they are intended to be combined; for although the resources of the drums are limited, they can be arranged in different ways so as to produce drum pieces which can be clearly distinguished from each other.
>
> (Oliver, 1970, pp. 35-36)

A final word needs to be said regarding the matter of "emotionality" in Afro-American music. The power and emotion of Afro-American music is illustrated by LeRoi Jones (1967) by recourse to the imagination. Anyone who is familiar with popular rhythm and blues orchestra leader and singer James Brown can try the following exercise. Imagine James Brown in the lobby of a huge bank singing his million seller "Money Won't Change You, but Time Will Take You Out." As Jones says, "If this is played in a bank, the total environment is changed. Not only the sardonic comment of the lyrics but the total emotional placement of the rhythm, instrumentation, and sound releases an energy in the bank that summons images that take the bank and everybody in it on a trip, that is, they visit another place, a place where the Afro-American lives."

Once again it can be seen through an additional dimension of human experience that the core behavioral style of a people causes experiences to be constructed around that specific group's cultural norm. It should also be seen that no real understanding of an "event" or "behavior" is possible apart from a consideration of that event or behavior situated in its cultural context.

The Expression of Behavioral Style Through Language

Language is far from an incidental matter. No discussion of "intelligence," which is known almost totally through language, can be intelligible apart from a full appreciation of this culturally situated and embedded process. Shakespeare's Caliban and Prospero offers us an excellent model for consideration.

Caliban and Prospero: as O. Mannoni and George Lamming (born 1927) have pointed out, the relationship between these two characters in The Tempest can be interpreted as similar to the relationship of the two opposing sides in a colonialist society. This is not, of course, to drag Shakespeare into modern controversies or credit him with ideas some way ahead of his time! But the parallel drawn strikes me as highly illuminating, and I believe can be followed up further than has been done by Mannoni and Lamming.

Prospero has given Caliban Language; and with it an unstated history of consequences, an unknown history of future intentions. This gift of language meant not English, in particular, but speech and concept as a way, a method, a necessary avenue towards areas of the self which could not be reached in any other way. It is this way, entirely Prospero's enterprise, which makes Caliban aware of possibilities. Therefore, all of Caliban's future--for future is the very name for possibilities--must derive from Prospero's experiment, which is also his risk.

Provided there is no extraordinary departure which explodes all of Prospero's premises, then Caliban and his future now belong to Prospero...Prospero lives in the absolute certainty that Language, which is his gift to Caliban, is the very prison in which Caliban's achievements will be realized and restricted...

Lamming is right: if Caliban is no more than a part of nature, he will never be able to break out of the prison of Prospero's language: all the culture he can obtain, as is Prospero's intention, must then derive from Prospero's language and mentality; and everything Caliban does will be derivative. But suppose Caliban is also part of a culture, a different culture unfamiliar to Prospero. Caliban remembers this but can grasp it only in images, not words; he is imprisoned in Prospero's language and his own servility.

Once Caliban has recognized the limits and roots of Prospero's power, he may try some further unsuccessful revolts, but if his urge to freedom remains unbroken, the idea is bound to occur to him in the end--helped by the education Prospero has given him, however defective, that his mother's powers, the voices, the instruments and the riches that drop in dreams, all belong together: that they form a culture, but one very different from Prospero's book culture. He, Caliban, must at last wrench this from dreams into reality, in other words, consciously recognize it. He does this through language, Prospero's language, for he possesses no other.

So he captures, in his own and Prospero's language, a culture Prospero did not create and cannot control, which he, Caliban, has recognized as his own. But in the process the language is transformed, acquiring different meanings which Prospero never expected. Caliban becomes "bilingual." That language he shares with Prospero and the language he has minted from it are no longer identical. Caliban breaks out of the prison of Prospero's language. This provides a new point of departure.

> Prospero's lessons cannot be unlearned, so Caliban will continue to understand Prospero's language. But Prospero will have only a partial grasp of the language which is now Caliban's own, so long as he retains his old attitudes. He is bound to miss essential parts, nuances and references, everything that relates to that different cultural background, and so he will misunderstand Caliban's new language.
>
> But Prospero can have himself initiated into the new language, which has been extended by Caliban to take in new fields of experience. The condition for this, however, is that Prospero asks Caliban questions, that he is willing to be instructed, and is instructed. In fact he must abandon his colonialist arrogance, shed his claim to be the master race, and consort with Caliban on the same level. Thus Caliban's liberation gives Prospero too a great opportunity: the chance of turning from a tyrant into a humane person. (Janheinz, 1969, pp. 239-243)

If it takes two points to make a line, a third point will help to verify the line. Having looked at religion and music, we will now turn to a third and final detailed example of how an understanding of behavioral style is required for any meaningful interpretation of human experience. Although there can be many other points along the line which we have been following, language is a particularly important point to consider, especially when it comes to the assessment of "aptitude." It is important because language is the primary tool through which we have attempted to obtain information about the "intelligence" or "aptitude" of other individuals. Any lack of sophistication in understanding how language works will preclude the possibility for rational analysis and assessment in cross-cultural settings. Virtually all "IQ" tests depend upon language. Yet, there is no indication that any IQ test has been developed so as to take into account the variations in vocabulary, syntax, para-language, or other aspects of language for which major cultural alternatives or styles exist. The psychometrist's insistence and dependence upon "standardization" seems to require an assumption of a common vocabulary, a common syntax, common para-linguistic features and a common cultural situation. For it is only by making the erroneous assumptions that differences in performance can be compared in a "standard" way through "standardized tests." Yet, even a superficial examination, with a limited knowledge of linguistics, and sociolinguistics in particular, reveals that it is a gross error to proceed in that. We may not know all that is needed to remedy poor assessment. However, we can see clearly where major problems exist.

In education as with many other areas in the behavioral sciences, the primary tool for accomplishing professional tasks is the tool of language. It is remarkable indeed that so few educators or behavioral science helping professionals have studied this tool systematically. Fewer still have developed the expertise to apply it skillfully. Understanding language and how it works is not the same thing as being able to speak a language. The failure to understand this simple principle is at the root of much of the malpractice which occurs in the area of cross-cultural assessment. There have been sensitive and sophisticated observers of the dynamics of human interaction. Frantz Fanon (1967), an Algerian psychiatrist, was among the keen observers of human behavior who truly understood the dynamics of language and the effect that language had on communication and understanding.

> To speak means to be in a position to use a certain syntax, to grasp the morphology of this or that language. What it means above all is to assume a culture, to support the weight of a civilization...A man who has a language, consequently possesses a world expressed and implied by that language. What we are getting at becomes plain. Mastery of language affords remarkable power. Paul Valery knew this, for he called language, 'The God gone astray in the flesh.' (pp. 17-18)

Some human service professional practicioners seem to have understood the problem somewhat. For example, attorneys at law have understood the critical need to master specific techniques of communication. For them it is not simply a matter of speaking good English, although that is important. The successful practice of law actually depends upon the skillful manipulation of English, either written or oral in order to create a mind set, to structure relations, or to pinpoint meanings. More than that, as a part of the law curriculum itself, attorneys study the technique of asking questions in order to utilize courtroom or interview interactions, to maximum effect (Hilliard, 1974). It has been but recently that educators have begun to pay systematic attention to their primary tool. Studies of questioning strategies are now quite common. However, there is a general ignorance in our field, of the knowledge and insights possessed by the sociolinguist. Those who function in the area of psychological testing, have paid a tremendous cost for this ignorance. However, the children who have been misassessed have paid a cost which is geometrically higher than that.

The understanding of sociolinguistic principles would have eliminated decades of **misassessment** of the intelligence of "primitive" peoples. It was Benjamin Whorf (1956) in 1927 and for several years following who understood the connection between language, culture, world-view and thinking. For example, Whorf indicated that Indo-European languages can be roughly calibrated English, French, German, Russian, Latin, Greek and the rest; but when it comes to Chinese, Mathmia, and Hopi, calibration, says Whorf, is structurally difficult, if not impossible. Speakers of Chinese dissect nature and the universe differently from Western speakers. A still different dissection is made by various groups of American Indians, Africans and the speakers of other languages. Whorf and his analysis also put to rest the mythology about "superior" and "inferior" languages and thinking. For example, he noted that among the Hopi, events always include "space" and "time," since neither is found alone in the Hopi world view. Therefore, his language gets along adequately without tenses for its verb, and permits the Hopi to think habitually in terms of "space-time." Whorf goes on to indicate that to properly understand Einstein's relativity theory, a Westerner must abandon his spoken tongue and take to the language of calculus. However, a Hopi has a sort of calculus built into him. Whorf indicates that Hopi is a better language for scientific investigation than are the European languages.

> Relatively few languages of the cultures have attained to modern civilizations and promised to overspread the globe and cause the extinction of hundreds of diverse exotic linguistic species, but it is idle to pretend that they represent any superiority of type. On the contrary, it takes but little real scientific study of pre-literate languages, especially those of America, to show how much more precise and finely elaborated the system of relationships in many such tongues than is ours. By comparison with many American languages, the formal systematization of ideas in English, German, French or Italian seems poor and jejune. Why,

> for instance, do we not, like the Hopi, use a different way of expressing the relation of channel of sensation (seeing) to result in consciousness, as between 'I see that it is red,' and 'I see that it is new.' We fuse the two quite different types of relationships into a vague sort of connection expressed by 'that,' whereas, the Hopi indicates that the first case presents the sensation 'red' and in the second, 'seeing' presents unspecified evidence from which is drawn the inference of newness... Does the Hopi language show here a higher plane of thinking, a more rational analysis of situations, than our English, of course it does. In this field and in various others, English compared to Hopi is like a bludgeon compared to a **rapier**. We even have to think and boggle over the question for some time or have it explained to us before we can see the difference in the relationships expressed by 'that' in the above examples; whereas, the Hopi discriminates his relationships with effortless ease, for the forms of his speech have accustomed him to doing so.
>
> (Whorf, 1956, p. 85)

Whorf goes on to say that many American Indian and African languages abound in finely wrought, beautifully logical discriminations about causation, action, result, dynamic or energetic quality, directness of experience, etc., all matters of the functions of thinking, indeed the quintessence of the rational. According to Whorf, in this respect, Hopi far out-distances the European languages. Whorf takes issue with such words as "pre-literate." He indicates that, far from being sub-rational, "pre-literate" or "primitive" communities may show human minds functioning on a higher and more complex plane of rationality than among the so-called civilized man. Whorf indicates that we do not know that civilization is synonymous with rationality.

Stewart Chase wrote the foreword to Whorf's book. In that foreword he presented an excellent set of principles which have immediate practical relevance for assessments which depend upon the use of language:

> 1. There is no one metaphysical pool of universal human thought.
> 2. The speakers of different languages see the cosmos differently, **evaluate** it differently, sometimes not by much, sometimes widely.
> 3. Thinking is relative to the language learned. There are no primitive languages.
> 4. Research is needed to discover the world-view of many unexplored languages, some now in danger of extinction.
> 5. Somewhere along the line it may be possible to develop a real international language. Some day all peoples will use language at capacity, and think much straighter than we do now.
>
> (Whorf, 1956,

Much more can be said regarding the principles of sociolinguistics which have developed to a high degree since the time of Benjamin Whorf. Such writers as Roger Shuy, Rudy Troike, Orlando Taylor (1975), Harrison (1972), Andrews (1974), Birdwhistle (1970), Scheflen (1974), Goffman (1969), Fisner (1974), Farb (1973), Hall (1959), etc. have helped us to understand how language works. It is the height of professional folly to proceed in the development and use of tests of "intelligence," which depend upon language, without an appreciation of messages of linguists. This is must know information, not simply nice to know.

Once we understand that cognitive and behavioral styles are reflected in the language which is spoken by the child, and by the professional as well, we can begin to use that information in order to structure assessment processes. One of the reasons that we have been so backward in the United States in understanding how language works, is that the traditional approaches to linguistic study have been largely from the perspective of the "atomistic-objective" style user. Vygotsky (1962) picked up this trend years ago between 1924 and 1938.

> The atomistic and functional modes of analysis prevalent during the last decade treated psychic processes in isolation. Methods of research were developed and perfected with a view to studying separate functions, while their interdependence and their organization in the structure of consciousness as a whole remained outside the field of investigation. (p. 1)

Vygotsky felt that it was possible to trace the idea of identity of thought and speech from the speculations of the psychological linguists of his time, that "thought is speech minus the sound," to the theories of modern American psychologists and reflexologists who came to consider thought as a reflex inhibited in its motor part. Vygotsky saw that in all these theories, the question of the *relationship* between thought and speech lost its meaning. If they were one and the same thing, no relationship between them could arise. Vygotsky took a critical swipe at the method of analysis which was adopted by most linguistic investigators. The methods which Vygotsky criticized were congruent to the one that we have called atomistic-objective.

> The first method analyzes complex psychological wholes into *elements*. It may be compared to the chemical analysis of water into hydrogen and oxygen, neither of which possesses the properties of the whole and each of which possesses properties not present in the whole. The student applying these methods in looking for the explanation of some property of water--why it extinguishes fire, for example--would find to his surprise that hydrogen burns and oxygen sustains fire. These discoveries will not help him much in solving the problem. *Psychology winds up in the same kind of dead-end when it analyzes verbal thoughts into its components, thought and word, and studied them in isolation from each other. In the course of analysis, the original properties of verbal thought have disappeared, nothing is left to the investigator but to search out the mechanical interaction of the two elements in the hope of reconstructing, in a purely speculative way, the vanished properties of the whole.* (p. 3) [Italics mine]

Vygotsky preferred an alternative to that approach. He thought that the right course to follow was to use a method of analysis which he called "analysis into units." By unit he meant a product of analysis, which unlike elements, retain the basic properties of the whole and which cannot be further divided without losing them. Not the chemical composition of water, but its molecules and their behavior are the key to the understanding of the properties of water. The true unit of biological analysis would be the living cell, since it possesses the basic properties of the living organism. When it comes to verbal thought, Vygotsky believes that the unit of analysis should be "word meaning." The importance of Vygotsky's approach is that like Whorf, he recognized the complexities of the communications process, and that it could not yield to the kind of atomistic analysis that would permit the development of the kinds of assumptions which underlie contemporary standardized tests of intelligence. The implicit assumptions are that world-views may be ignored, unique experiential pools may be ignored, and that meaning may exist in the abstract, unconnected to any cultural setting. It is hard to believe how anyone who understood the principles of linguistics, sociolinguistics in particular could hold such a position.

This brings us to the use of language in contemporary assessment processes. A close examination of the intelligence testing movement will reveal that virtually all the sociolinguistic insights have been overlooked. One of the consequences of such an unsophisticated look at the assessment process is that many children who actually have high ability are misassessed and are labelled as having low ability. But, an even more startling consequence to many educators, is the fact seldom considered, that is, that children who are measured as having high "aptitude" or "intelligence" frequently have achieved that rating only because they resemble the culture of the person who asked the questions and they frequently have less ability than has been indicated. They are "false positives." For example, Cohen (1972) has described the situation as follows:

> Children of educated families all too often use words to conceal their ignorance, because they have learned that words please their parents, and the desire to please comes to outweigh the desire to know, or they will use words to conceal their feelings, since some parents make it clear that strong early childhood feeling is not appropriate in a household of controlled adults, or they will ask questions, sometimes the same ones over and over, not as an honest search for information but as a means of engaging an adult whose generosity in responding to a child is likely to occur in the cognitive areas. (p. 58)

One of the ways to keep from making errors in assessment is to apply the understanding of behavioral style to the area of language. Many investigators have noted such relationships. Without looking too hard, one can find the same values and elements reflected in language styles that have been described earlier in religion and music. These styles are reflections of basic polar personality styles, and the intermediate styles which were discussed earlier. For example, the dominant atomistic-objective style reflected in language in America calls for an approach to language which emphasizes the "permanent" meaning of words, "conformity" in vocabulary, "conformity" in linguistic structure, "narrowing the focus" in language to exclude "para-linguistic" features, "standardizing" the language, and viewing language as "abstract" and "disconnected" from a particular cultural context. The evidence that these assumptions are working is found in the high and growing commitment among public schools and higher education for "literacy requirements." Discussions about the "literacy requirements" usually carry the assumption, not only that there is a standard language of convenience, but that there is a "standard" language, meaning a superior language, to which all citizens must conform. When a student does not demonstrate a familiarity with the "standard language," the prevailing assumption about the student is not that the student has "another language and experience" but that the student is "unintelligent." One is reminded here of the narrowed perceptual range of the obsessive-compulsive and the obsessive-compulsive's inability to feel comfortable with novel experience. "Literacy tests" then are frequently used tools by assessors who express a particular behavioral style. It can be shown here through language, that if the intent is to discover "intelligence" and not communicative conformity, the assessor will be compelled to expand the approach to include using any experience which any student has! For example, Williams (1975) has spoken of the discrepancy between evidence for intelligence in school and evidence for intelligence expressed through the child's normal experience.

> Black parents and teachers have long noted and expressed bewilderment over the striking difference in fluency between scholastic and non-scholastic verbal behavior in Black children. This difference can be accounted for by the students' free choice of language once removed from the ridigity of the classroom. This freedom assumes the form of ethnotropism widely used in Black culture.
>
> 1. Getten over like a fat rat in a cheese factory.
> 2. That ain't nothing, man, ice it!
> 3. Higher than nine kites on a breezy day.
> 4. Man that dude was really stroking.
> 5. Just as cool as she wanted to be.
> 6. I don't know, what page *you* on.
> 7. You on the wrong channel, *tune* in!
> 8. Jim, he was making it and *making* it.
> 9. I'm gonna *but* your hip boots on.
> 10. Lay out till you get wired up.
> 11. Laying on the cut till I'm hip.
> 12. Freeze that shit and space.
>
> Metaphor is the most imaginative and creative device of language. Metaphor is the supreme ethnotroph. It shows a capacity for a developed sense of the beauty and 'ethnotropism' of language. Metaphor is a high level of abstract symbolization, of logical analogy, describing whatever its meaning symbolizes...the essential ambiguity of metaphor is usually resolved by contextual clues, convergent concepts, and knowledge and expectations of the members of the culture. In conventional standard usage, one is taught to avoid unambiguous metaphors, for they obscure literal meaning. (p. 87)

The Black child who is at home with the metaphors presented above, but who has no opportunity to use his or her understanding of those metaphors in order to express his "intelligence," is not "deprived" but is *being deprived by someone* of an opportunity to demonstrate intelligence which exists. The further example of a part of the rich experience of some Afro-American youngsters follows. Dr. Ernie Smith (Williams, 1975) gives a poignant, detailed description of his coming of age "in the streets."

> Walter N., a fellow who I consider to be a top-notch player and a man, first taught me the pimping game. School Boy, which was Walter's moniker or nick-name in the fast life, taught me all of the psycholinguistics of survival within and outside the street culture. He especially emphasized the necessity of my developing an ability to linguistically code switch in 'proper' English. Unlike stuff playing and slum hustlin, which are hustles which require a proficient and skillful use of linguistic, paralinguistic, and semantic clues conveying an ignorant personality, sweet mouthin', rappin', and especially mackin', required a complete reversal in roles. School Boy not only taught me the nuances of the fast life, he persistantly urged that I pursue, and strongly influenced my having continued to completion, a post-secondary education. (p. 81)

At one point in Dr. "Sweet-Ernie" Smith's life he was regarded by the school staff as "mentally retarded." He could only have been regarded so by a psychologist or other assessor who had a limited personal experiential pool and, therefore, failed to understand enough of Dr. Smith's experience as a real world experience. A skilled psychologist or other assessor would know how to let Ernie use his own experience as a vehicle to permit revelation of his cognitive skills.

Sidran (1971) has said that one can easily understand why White or Western historians have tended to minimize or omit the study of "orality," since they are "writers" by cultural tradition, a tradition which places no value whatever on the absence of "literacy," and as such, they have little, if any experience of the orality. Also, Sidran clearly perceives, as did Benjamin Whorf many years ago, the fact that language and world-view are intimately tied together, and that world-view and language reflect the way individuals structure and participate in their world. For example, in the Afro-American world view, Sidran (1971) indicates that the Afro-American oral man stores information through physical assimilation.

> He becomes the information, this process has similarities to physical intercourse on a very general level. Whereas, Western communication theory based on the notion that 'speech contains much that is redundant to intelligence and therefore, wasteful of intelligence,' making it possible for cybernetics to reduce communication to digital yes/no systems, Black communication maintains the integrity of the individual and his 'personal' voice in the context of group activity, thus the notion that voice tones are superfluous to communication is absurd, within the framework of oral culture. This truth can be applied to instrumental music as well, whereas Western musicians were recognized for their ability to conform to and master traditional techniques, Black musicians are highly regarded for their ability to invent personal techniques and to project personal sounds, the personal technique being a means whereby the personal sounds are accomplished. (pp. 9-14)

What we have here then is not only a different vocabulary and a different grammatical structure, when we look at two different cultures, but a different experience of reality itself. Frequently it is difficult, if not impossible, to translate the experience from one world-view or behavioral style to another. Experiences can easily be overlooked by an assessor who knows only one world-view while observing a person who participates in another world-view. For example, Ken Johnson at the University of California at Berkeley points out that it is impossible to "signify" in standard English. Signifying is a part of the Afro-American oral experience which takes on its meaning within a particular linguistic social context. Even if the Afro-American speaker is bi-dialectical, signifying can only occur in the Afro-American dialect. Further, no one who is not steeped in the Afro-American tradition can signify! While it may be true that signifying is not valued in a school setting, and may not provide the student the opportunity to gain school credit, signifying has to be of interest to any honest psychologist or assessor, if the objective is to determine the student's "ability" to function cognitively or at a high intellectual plane.

There are many unique aspects to the Afro-American linguistic experience. These distinct aspects must be utilized in any assessment of "intelligence." For example, in the Afro-American linguistic experience, speaking is more "social" and less "individual." That is to say, "interaction" is expected in communication, even at the level of formal speech making. Mayers (Williams, 1975) notes that, in Black orations, the closer the person is to the Afro-American core experience the more likely there will be the expectation of the "call and response" sociolinguistic interaction. The Afro-American speaker expects to hear "back-talk," words of encouragement, or signals of agreement, such as "Amen." This is an elaborated linguistic code. Mayers says that the non-Black speaker would very likely feel interrupted by such a response, should that speaker be unlikely enough to receive it in the first place. The Afro-American speaker, on the other hand, would be encouraged and rejuvenated by it. In addition to the expectation for greater audience participation in the speaking encounter, among Afro-American speakers high value is placed on the use of creativity in vocabulary and communication. Particular word meanings do not have to maintain themselves over time, in fact, to be "hip" is to be precisely the opposite, to be novel. For example,

> Even the adjective funky which once meant, to many Negroes, merely a stink (usually associated with sex) was used to certify Afro-American music as meaningful (the word became fashionable and is now almost useless). The social implication then was that here was the old stereotype of a distinctive "Negro smell," a stereotype to which White America subscribed, which could be turned against White America. This smell now, real or not, was made a valuable characteristic of "Negro-ness" by the fifties, and for many Negroes (and Whites) was the only strength left to American culture. (Jones, 1963, pp. 219-220)

Some of this creativity was tied to a simple enjoyment of the use of language. In other ways Black creativity in speech comes as a consequence of oppression. The use of indirection, obliquity, inference, and illusion is related to the need to be calculating and conscious in social exposure. For example,

> When Blacks came into contact with Whites they often found it useful to maintain a 'low profile.' Metaphor provides a convenient cover when they wished to do so-talking in riddles, as it were. For example, when metaphors are used by Whites to promote negative values about Blacks, Blacks turn the metaphors back on the users by assigning them the same negative values. At the same time they assign to themselves the positive values in the metaphor; thus, metaphor serves well the function of deliberate ambiguity for Blacks. When Whites make mistakes in pronunciation, Blacks say clumsy lips, on the other hand, Blacks may say clumsy lips and mean by that a man who is 'really rapping.' Similarly, fuzzy mind or child-like mind may mean either a muddled thinker, or a 'deep mind' thinker. The subtlety of this way of thinking typifies Black Talk. (Turner, 1969, p. 89)

Taking into account the use of language as indicated in the discussion above, it becomes quite clear that two separate value systems are operating. It also should be apparent that it is useless, if the intent is to discover the ability of a person to function and to apply his or her intelligence to an environment, to insist that the basic language and information pool for that demonstration come from a totally alien environment. There is absolutely nothing in the current practice of standardized testing for intelligence which gives evidence that any of our information about style, especially as expressed through language, is either understood or applied. Quite naturally, any good business person who contemplates what is implied by an acceptance of the principle being discussed here, would recognize immediately the cost involved in taking such knowledge into account. Quite clearly, the mass produced standardized test is cheap. On the other hand, we have seen that the mass produced standardized test can function only by doing violence to the truth, when in fact, the expression of intelligence in human beings takes place through their own learned language and culture. This condition demands multiple bases for assessment.

Additional Areas for the Expression of Style

We have utilized only three examples of areas where information regarding the expression of behavioral style can be found: religion, music, and language. The number of areas which could be examined is unlimited. For example, there are clear distinctions in the approach to humor by the atomistic-objective style user as contrasted with the synthetic-personal style user. In the first case, frequently the humor in a joke is in the play on words. Stand-up comedians with "one-liners" are the best examples of atomistic-objective style humor. The anecdote is abrupt. It is disconnected from any particular context. The joke can be delivered easily in a variety of contexts, and,therefore, can be considered something of a "standardized" version. On the other hand, among Afro-American humor, frequently the jokes told would be considered even funny by many Euro-Americans. For example, instead of the use of "puns" or "one-liners," very often the Afro-American joke is delivered as an involved description of a social situation, and frequently uses material in the context where the joke is told. The people who are listening frequently will be the subject of attention. The person who is delivering the joke may simply spin a long and detailed description of some misfortune. In the old barber shop routime, a joke may be told once, and then several more times within a few moments. Each time it is told there may be a different emphasis, milking from the joke all possible nuances. The participation of the audience is expected. New endings to the joke may be provided. Someone, the initial joke teller or anyone, may actually build on the joke to the point where a new joke is created. In such cases the humor is in the created situation rather than carried strictly in the meanings of words. The total situation is funny rather than the "logic" or the "illogic" of the connections among words. These differences are so real that it would almost take a blind and deaf person to be unable to recognize the distinction between Euro-American and Afro-American humor as is the case with any other area of human experience. Yet a "universal" question on the Stanford Binet has been a question about "absurdities." For example, "Bill Jones' feet are so big that he has to put his pants on over his head." The style user who likes to listen to word play has an advantage here. The real absurdity is that psychometricians or test makers cannot detect the culture specific nature of this question.

It has been important to take this time with detailed illustrations of expression of cognitive style in a variety of areas, primarily because of the implicit assumption among those who place high value on standardized test results that there is no need to consider stylistic variations among users. Having developed these points in a general fashion, it is now possible to progress to the research on the development of an approach to an alternative to an IQ test for identifying gifted minority students.

CHAPTER VI

The "Who" and the "O": Contextually Situated Vehicles for the Assessment of Pupil Potential

Revision of Pre-Screening Checklist and Procedures for Administration

A complete description of the identification process which has been used to select students for the Gifted Program in the San Francisco Unified School District is included in the Appendix. It can be noted here that the utilization of Paul Torrance's items in the checklist for creativity was a significant step forward for the San Francisco Unified School District. When this device was adopted, it signaled recognition that a broad range of behaviors must be considered in any identification program, and that information not normally included on standard assessment procedures must be considered as well. Paul Torrance has done pioneer work in the assessment of intelligence based upon actual observations of children. It became clear to him very early that traditional definitions of intelligence were unnaturally limiting. As a result, he found it both more realistic and practical to speak of "creativity" than to think of high level mental functioning as an expanded definition of "intelligence." The checklist which summarizes characteristics that Paul Torrance has identified and has associated with "creative behavior," is shown in the Appendix. This checklist is fine as far as it goes. However, Paul Torrance has failed to make the next fundamental refinement which observations of human behavior would dictate. That refinement is to deal with the matter of style. Essentially the implicit assumption in the use of the Torrance checklist is similar to the assumption in the use of standardized tests, that being that one "norm" can be used in thinking of all children. There is little or nothing in Paul Torrance's formulations to account for cultural and stylistic variations in any systematic way. In a sense, to move from traditional standardized variables to those characteristics which Paul Torrance has identified, represents an embryonic move to come to terms with or to face the matter of style. Torrance does this through an argument over the definition of "intelligence." With him, it is as if the only problem in assessment of intelligence is that the range of behaviors which constitute the "norm" of cognitive functioning is not broad enough to encompass some of the behaviors which students in a standard culture exhibit. Any in-depth study of the cultural roots and expressions of specific groups will illustrate clearly, as has been shown in preceding chapters that a person's experience is situated in a cultural milieu which exists with its own integrity, and that this may or may not overlap the cultural milieu of others.

Our revision of the existing pre-screening check list and the revision of procedures for administration is designed to integrate what we know about the origin and expression of behavioral style and the difficulty which an observer will have seeing stylistic differences in behavior. The following important points describe the revised basic check list:

1. The revised check list is not to be used as a complete assessment for the identification of "gifted" children. It is to be considered only as a rough screening device which seems to identify talented students who are missed by traditional assessment practices.

2. No attempt has been made here to specify the character of the remainder of the assessment process for the identification of gifted children, nor has there been any attempt here to specify procedures or principles related to the articulation of this assessment procedure with later final assessment procedures.

3. The revised check list contains items which have been designed to be more characteristic of the "synthetic-personal" style. Several of the items are quite similar to those on Torrance's check list for creativity. However, it should be pointed out that the use of this particular check list requires a more global conceptualization of "pre-screening" than was the case with the Torrance checklist. To be specific, not only are the specific items important, it is also important who does the rating using the items.

   It can be noted by looking at the Paul Torrance creativity check list (San Francisco Unified School District, Appendix M) items six, seven, eight, nine, twelve, thirteen, fourteen, sixteen, seventeen, nineteen, and twenty-two either directly or indirectly appear to overlap those on the "WHO" and the "Q." However, additional items from our research have been added. Both the overlapping items and the new items are believed to be items which are weighted in favor of the synthetic-personal style user. For example, item number four on the "WHO" and the "Q," "has a quick temper," seemed to be related to "impulsivity," "explosiveness," and/or "expressiveness," as discussed by Shapiro, Cohen, Hilliard, Weems, and others. Similarily, item number eleven, "is very impatient," seemed to be a common characteristic cited by those who described styles similar to the synthetic-personal. Item number seventeen, "can make quick decisions," and item number eighteen, "is good at guessing," are both items which have been antithetical to the "obsessive-compulsive" or "analytic" style users. For example, Shapiro indicates that the obsessive-compulsive has great difficulty making decisions because of the psychological need to be certain. They prefer not to guess. Another clear example of the stylistic fit of the items in the WHO/O is item number twenty-one, "seems to know how other people feel." Repeatedly, investigators seem to associate "empathy" with a personal focus or with styles that resemble the synthetic-personal style.

   Once again it is important to remember that it is not only the items but the judgement of a pupil's behavior using the items as a way to structure observations and recollections that counts. Therefore, it was felt that the opportunity to identify more synthetic-personal style users was greatly enhanced, both by changing the character of the items, and by enlarging the number and kinds of child behaviors which were to be observed.

4. The checklist has been revised so as to depend upon several assessments of the same child from different points of view. A single teacher may or may not have enough information about a given child to be able to rate what that child actually does. Furthermore, a single teacher has his or her own behavioral style which will condition how the behavior of a child is perceived. Therefore, multi-views of a single child must be garnered.

5. The check list as now administered provides an opportunity to minimize potential misperceptions in cross-style assessments by a single observer by including peer assessment, self assessment, and parental assessment. The more sophisticated extension of this principle would be to include the ratings of other individuals, particularly those who had extensive information about the experiences of the student being rated.

6. The check list calls for observations on "thematic" behaviors with the specific content cited or used being free to vary. The assessment uses the child's experience in a variety of settings but with a special opportunity to include behavior in natural settings. These behaviors, most likely, are to be observed by parents and peers. The more sophisticated extension of this principle would include the use of relatives, peers, in addition to those in the same classroom, and other adults who are familiar with the experience of a given child. For example, on the item "is very funny sometimes," what we expect is the observer's impression of the behavior of the observee, without spelling out specific jokes or even joking behavior as an index of funniness. The intent here is to determine if, in the eyes of the observer, the student appears to be funny, not if the person who develops a standardized test thinks a particular joke in a test would characterize a student as being funny.

7. The check list can be applied in any setting where the raters are familiar with the ratee. The most sophisticated use of the check list, therefore, would call for the raters to indicate the level of familiarity they felt with the ratee. Further research would have to be conducted in order to determine the weightings of items or to determine how to take into account the rater's degree of familiarity with the subject in some systematic way.

In general, it is important to keep in mind that the list is not an "instrument" in the sense that some investigators seem to accept traditional standardized tests. It is instead, an instrument to "structure observations or recollections" which does not utilize preconceived content, but which does utilize preconceived themes. The list represents our expression of the fact that in the assessment of human behavior, the state of the art is such that the most dependable observations come from skilled observers with cross-cultural sophistication and demonstrated familiarity with the subject being observed, when these observers use the experiences which the child has and analyzes those meanings in order to make a determination about ability and style.

How the Check List Was Developed

The items on the "WHO" and the "O" check list were developed based upon an in depth review of the literature on the assessment of intelligence, cognitive and behavioral style, culture, and world-view. In addition to this review, in depth interviews were conducted with "experts": teachers, psychologists, sociologists, social workers, linguists and others who have had on going, intensive contact with children in their daily practice, primarily Afro-American children. Experts were also selected according to their ability to articulate their observations about their clinical practice. We would have preferred to be more broad-ranging and have more structured in depth involvement with an even broader range of expert clinicians, utilizing structured observations to corroborate their clinical assessments. However, the limitations of the scope of this investigation precluded such an approach. In interviews, the clinical experts were advised that we were interested in the development of alternative procedures for the identification of gifted minority children. Specific inquiries were focused to elicit from these experts their articulation of how gifted behavior was expressed, utilizing as much anecdotal material as possible. Expert opinion on the conditions under which accurate observations could be made were also sought.

In addition to the above, key project staff were selected based upon their own broad range of experiences in working with children at a variety of levels. The project staff were used to assist the principal investigator to analyze literature and interview material in order to identify characteristics to be investigated.

Finally, a small group of consultants were interviewed and appropriate literature reviewed in order to refine the theoretical framework on behavioral style and assessment procedures. The data which were synthesized from interviews and literature, as well as from our own observations, were then examined to determine their fit with the hypothesized categories of "atomistic-objective" and "synthetic-personal." For example, Dr. Buford Gibson, child psychiatrist, provided vivid anecdotal information about the behavior of Afro-American children who were referred to his clinic for treatment. Dr. Gibson noted that many of the Black children who were referred to him as "learning problems" and later proved to have high ability, often were characterized as having a "mature playfulness": "They would have a joke for me every time they came to the clinic"; "They would build humorous situations out of mutual experiences that we had in the interview"; "They sometimes hide their talents"; "They know they are gifted and will tell you if you ask them"; "It is necessary to have a rapport before information will be revealed"; "The inquirer must be perceived by the student as 'smart' enough to understand in order for the student or gifted child to reveal important information." Mr. Rudy Smith, Director of the Crisis Clinic at Mount Zion Hospital, emphasized that the interpretation of behavior as gifted must include the evaluation of that behavior as "appropriate" to a given situation. Mr. Smith added an additional dimension which was also highlighted by Dr. Orlando Taylor, a linguist. They both spoke of "code switching" which we later saw as "bi-stylistic" behavior, or what Ramierez and Castaneda have called "bi-cognitive development." That is to say, the truly gifted child is able to function under a variety of conditions, including being able to function with people who have more than one style and who can, themselves, function in more than one style. This is an important consideration in the definition of gifted behavior, in that many children now labelled as gifted are really nothing more than highly practiced "nono-stylistic" people and, consequently, may be presumed to be inappropriately assessed as "gifted."

Once the behavioral indicators of style were identified, the indicators were extracted which seemed to be congruent with the synthetic-personal style, and, therefore, with many of the "missing" gifted students.

How Was the Check List Administered?

1. The check list was first administered in the usual way, that is, the teacher was asked to identify students who might be gifted and then was asked to fill out the "O." See Appendix J.

Pilot Process for Check List Development

Three third grade and three sixth grade classes were selected in the San Francisco Unified School District during the middle of the second semester of 1976. The following procedures for the administration of the check list were as follows:

1. The teachers were asked to identify children in their classes whom they thought might be gifted, and for further evaluation. They were then instructed to fill out the "O" form of the new check list on those students.

2. Following the completion of that task, teachers were then asked to think of the entire class and to fill out the "WHO" form. Teachers were advised that a student might be named more than one time or that on a given item it would be possible that only one would be named.

3. The "O" forms were passed out to students in the class and each student was asked to check those items which the student felt were descriptive of himself or herself.

4. Following that, the students were then asked to think of the entire class and to name the individuals in the class who seemed to fit the description on the "WHO" form. Students were advised that any student could be named more than one time, or that there might be items for which the student would have no nominee. Students were not told that their ratings were associated in any way with selection for a gifted program.

5. Parents were surveyed by mail to determine if they would permit their children to be involved in the study and also if they would be willing to fill out the "O" form on their own child. Parents were advised that the information would be used in order to assist school personnel in identifying children for the gifted program. Only one parent, either parent, for a given child, was asked to respond.

In view of the fact that not all parents responded to the questionnaire, it was decided to give primary weight to peer ratings as a basis for identifying students to be assessed further. The ten students with the highest peer ratings were then selected and evaluated by the District's normal processes which are described in Appendix N. Based upon that description, three children were identified as gifted.

The check list was factor analyzed. Since there were too few teachers to provide a meaningful factor analysis, three sets of responses to the instrument were factored: The child's self ratings, the child's peer ratings, and the parent's ratings. See Tables I through V and also Appendixes A through I.

TABLE I

Self Ratings

Factor Loading			Item Number	
ctor 1	.78	Remembers a lot about T.V.	(31)	
	.75	Can always find something to do	(34)	
	.72	Really knows what they want to do	(23)	ALERT
	.63	Is really hard to con	(25)	
	.51	Can talk more than one way	(28)	
	.45	Can make quick decisions	(17)	
	.43	Is good at guessing	(18)	
actor 2	.76	Has a quick temper	(4)	
	.78	Is very impatient	(11)	ENERGY
	.52	Is always getting excited about new things	(1)	
ctor 3	.80	Can talk to grown-ups easily	(13)	
	.48	Has lots of different ideas	(7)	CONFIDENCE
	.47	Can make quick decisions	(17)	
ctor 4	.74	Is really funny sometimes	(2)	HUMOR
	.62	Gets along well with all different kinds of people	(16)	
tor 5	.72	Can really dance	(12)	EXPRESSIVE
	.68	Knows the words to lots of songs	(15)	
ctor 6	.68	Always asks the best questions	(20)	
	.53	Always tries new styles of clothes	(9)	EXPERIMENTATION
	.45	Seems to know what I am thinking	(30)	
	.43	Does lots of different kinds of things	(19)	
tor 7	.66	Can get children to do things	(23)	
	.65	Knows how to put people down real fast	(32)	
	.51	Is good at fooling people	(3)	SOCIAL CONTROL
	.48	Can get grown-ups to do things	(24)	
	.46	Can tell some of the biggest lies	(8)	
	.44	Is really hip	(26)	
tor 8	.74	Can make up good stories	(6)	
	.52	Can make stories really interesting	(5)	VERBAL CREATIVITY
	.47	Can get grown-ups to do things	(24)	
ctor 9	.76	Is always bragging about different things	(27)	ATTENTION SEEKING
	.54	Is good at making up things	(14)	
ctor 10	.80	Seems to know how people feel	(21)	
	-.45	Seems to notice everything	(22)	SYMPATHY
tor 11	.56	Is too nosey	(33)	
	.52	Likes to use different or new words	(10)	RISK
	.41	Is good at guessing	(18)	

Peer Ratings

	Factor Loading		Item Number	
Factor 1	.79	Always ask the best questions	(20)	
	.76	Can make stories really interesting	(5)	
	.70	Can make up good stories	(6)	EXPERIMENTATION
	.59	Can talk more than one way	(28)	
	.51	Gets along well with all different kinds of people	(16)	
	.47	Can make quick decisions	(17)	
	.46	Can always find something to do	(34)	
Factor 2	.77	Is good at fooling people	(3)	
	.67	Knows how to put people down	(32)	DECEPTION
	.43	Can tell some of the biggest lies	(8)	
	.42	Is really funny sometimes	(2)	
Factor 3	.71	Can get children to do things	(23)	
	.68	Has a quick temper	(4)	SOCIAL CONTROL
	.54	Can talk to grown-ups easily	(13)	
Factor 4	.80	Is always bragging about different things	(27)	SELF PROJECTION
	.67	Is too nosey	(33)	
	.56	Can tell some of the biggest lies	(8)	
Fasctor 5	.76	Knows the words to lots of songs	(15)	
	.69	Is hip	(26)	SOCIAL AWARENESS
	.44	Can really dance	(12)	
	.43	Always tries new styles of clothes	(9)	
Factor 6	.73	Remembers a lot about T.V. programs	(31)	
	.68	Is good about making up things like games	(14)	CREATIVE
Factor 7	.62	Likes to use different or new words	(10)	
	.57	Has lots of different ideas	(7)	EXPLORATION
	.51	Does lots of different kinds of things	(19)	
	.47	Can talk to grown-ups easily	(13)	
Factor 8	.79	Is really funny sometimes	(2)	
	.57	Can really dance	(12)	EXTROVERSION
Factor 9	.67	Is good at guessing	(18)	
	.67	Seems to know what I am thinking	(30)	EMPATHY
Factor 10	.68	Is very impatient	(11)	
	.63	Really knows what they want to do	(29)	SELF DIRECTED
	.50	Is always getting excited about new things	(1)	
Factor 11	.78	Seems to know how other people feel	(21)	SYMPATHY
Factor 12	.75	Seems to notice everything	(22)	AWARENESS

TABLE III

Parent Ratings Factor Loading			Item Number	
tor 1	.75	Likes to use different or new words	(10)	
	.73	Can talk to grown-ups easily	(13)	
	.72	Seems to notice everything	(22)	
	.71	Can get children to do things	(23)	
	.70	Has lots of different ideas	(7)	
	.70	Is good at guessing	(18)	
	.69	Gets along well with all different kinds of people	(16)	
	.68	Always asks the best questions	(20)	
	.67	Knows the words to lots of songs	(15)	
	.65	Can make quick decisions	(17)	
	.64	Seems to know how other people feel	(21)	
	.62	Does lots of different kinds of things	(19)	
	.61	Really knows what they want to do	(29)	
	.60	Can always find something to do	(34)	SOCIAL DESIRABILITY
	.59	Can make stories really interesting	(5)	
	.57	Is good at making up things	(14)	
	.56	Is always getting excited about new things	(1)	
	.56	Can make up good stories	(6)	
	.55	Is hip	(26)	
	.53	Remembers a lot about T.V.	(31)	
	.52	Is really hard to con	(25)	
	.51	Can talk more than one way	(28)	
	.45	Has a quick temper	(4)	
	.44	Is really funny sometimes	(2)	
	.41	Can get grown-ups to do things	(24)	
or 2	.80	Always tries new styles of clothes	(9)	
	.73	Can really dance	(12)	
	.44	Is always getting excited about new things	(1)	SOCIAL EXPRESSION
	.43	Knows the words to lots of songs	(15)	
	.43	Remembers a lot about T.V. programs	(31)	
	.42	Can always find something to do	(34)	
	.40	Is hip	(26)	
or 3	.81	Is too nosey	(33)	
	.79	Can tell some of the biggest lies	(8)	INTRUSION
	.40	Is good at fooling people	(3)	
or 4	.75	Is very impatient	(11)	
	.73	Has a quick temper	(4)	
	.61	Is always bragging	(27)	ENERGY
	.40	Can get grown-ups to do things	(24)	
or 5	.75	Seems to know what I am thinking	(30)	
	.46	Can get grown-ups to do things	(24)	
	.44	Can talk more than one way	(28)	EMPATHY
	.42	Seems to know how other people feel	(21)	
	.40	Can make up good stories	(6)	
or 6	.85	Knows how to put people down	(32)	
	.50	Is really hard to con	(25)	ASSERTIVE
	.45	Can make stories really interesting	(5)	

TABLE IV

Total Ratings on Students Receiving a Peer Rating of 10 or Less

(Note: A zero in the parent's column indicates that no parent rating was obtained)

Student	Self	Peer (Whole Class)	Teacher (Nomination)	Teacher (Whole Class)	Parent (Own Child)
1.	16.	10.	0.	0.	0.
2.	17.	10.	0.	1.	0.
3.	13.	10.	0.	0.	3.
4.	23.	9.	0.	0.	18.
5.	13.	9.	0.	1.	0.
6.	14.	9.	0.	0.	0.
7.	1.	9.	0.	1.	0.
8.	17.	8.	0.	0.	0.
9.	32.	8.	0.	0.	0.
10.	14.	8.	0.	0.	0.
11.	16.	7.	0.	1.	0.
12.	23.	7.	0.	0.	0.
13.	4.	7.	0.	0.	0.
14.	15.	7.	0.	0.	0.
15.	15.	7.	0.	0.	21.
16.	27.	6.	0.	0.	25.
17.	24.	5.	0.	0.	0.
18.	21.	5.	0.	0.	24.
19.	15.	5.	0.	0.	0.
20.	7.	5.	0.	0.	0.
21.	16.	5.	0.	0.	9.
22.	13.	4.	0.	0.	0.
23.	8.	4.	0.	0.	17.
24.	22.	3.	0.	0.	0.
25.	14.	3.	0.	0.	0.
26.	10.	3.	0.	0.	11.
27.	9.	3.	0.	0.	0.
28.	10.	2.	0.	0.	0.
29.	13.	2.	0.	0.	0.
30.	4.	0.	0.	0.	14.

TABLE V

Total Ratings on Students Receiving a Peer Rating of 30 or More
(Note: A zero in the parent's column indicates that no parent rating was obtained)

Student	Self	Peer (Whole Class)	Teacher (Nomination)	Teacher (Whole Class)	Parent (Own Child)
1.	26.	72.	0.	2.	0.
2.	21.	71.	0.	1.	0.
3.	17.	62.	0.	1.	11.
4.	15.	61.	18.	13.	0.
5.	24.	60.	0.	7.	26.
6.	15.	59.	0.	1.	19.
7.	4.	57.	0.	1.	10.
8.	17.	53.	0.	3.	0.
9.	17.	54.	0.	5.	25.
10.	11.	50.	32.	8.	0.
11.	23.	49.	0.	4.	23.
12.	16.	49.	0.	6.	11.
13.	16.	47.	0.	0.	0.
14.	13.	47.	0.	0.	2.
15.	13.	45.	0.	1.	0.
16.	2[illegible].	42.	0.	1.	0.
17.	20.	42.	0.	1.	0.
18.	18.	42.	0.	0.	0.
19.	17	42.	0.	2.	0.
20.	19.	41.	0.	2.	18.
21.	8.	41.	0.	6.	8.
22.	20.	40.	0.	0.	19.
23.	17.	40.	0.	0.	0.
24.	20.	39.	0.	3.	0.
25.	21.	38.	0.	10.	22.
26.	18.	38.	0.	0.	7.
27.	17.	38.	0.	2.	17.
28.	19.	37.	19.	10.	0.
29.	0.	37.	18.	4.	0.
30.	20.	36.	0.	0.	0.
31.	16.	36.	0.	2.	0.
32.	15.	36.	0.	0.	23.
33.	11.	36.	0.	0.	0.
34.	24.	35.	0.	0.	0.
35.	5.	35.	0.	0.	0.
36.	27.	34.	0.	2.	0.
37.	21.	34.	0.	2.	20.
38.	11.	34.	0.	2.	0.
39.	28.	33.	0.	1.	0.
40.	20.	33.	0.	1.	21.
41.	6.	33.	0.	3.	23.
42.	27.	32.	0.	1.	0.
43.	11.	32.	0.	0.	14.
44.	27.	31.	0.	1.	0.
45.	21.	31.	0.	0.	0.
46.	25.	30.	22.	12.	0.
47.	23.	30.	0.	1.	0.
48.	18.	30.	0.	4.	19.
49.	16.	30.	0.	0.	13.
50.	13.	30.	0.	2.	25.
51.	9.	30.	0.	3.	11.

It should be noted in the preceding tables that all factor loadings less than .40 have been excluded from the summary, although the loadings do appear in the Appendix. It should also be noted that the factor loadings after the rotation tend to be respectably high. While we have no test re-test reliability for the instrument, both the high factor loadings and expert judgement by staff and consultants of the internal consistency and face validity of the factors seem to indicate that the factors identified are substantive. To the extent that reliability does exist or can be accepted, it is interesting to note that one of our major points is supported. That is that the "instrument" is really not the check list but the observer. For example, when taking an internal view, eleven factors emerge in our sample (self-ratings). However, with the same instrument when taking a view of peers, twelve factors emerge, but significantly, twelve different factors with some overlapping. Finally, when parents used the same instrument, only six factors emerged, and once again, the six factors are different from either the eleven or the twelve. This seems to suggest a hypothesis that the check list serves a slightly different function depending upon who is looking, and what is being looked at!

Results - Suggested Issues

This study has been largely exploratory. It would be presumptuous indeed to suggest, on the basis of the pilot of this instrument, that "results" in any final sense have been obtained. It would be more appropriate to say that strong evidence suggesting basic questions to be investigated has been discovered. The results, therefore, seem to be that the following hypotheses are highly worthy of further investigation:

1. Factor analyses seem to show that the "instrument" is the person doing the observation.

2. There may be a relationship between the grade level of the student and the average score obtained on the instrument.

3. There may be relationships between ethnic group membership and the scores obtained, over-all, on the check list.

4. There may be significant geographical differences in results when this check list is used.

5. Teachers did not nominate any child as gifted whose peers rated him or her at ten or lower.

   No child with ten or lower peer scores got more than one teacher rating on the "WHO." Therefore, teachers' judgments on the low end of the scale seem to coincide with those of a student's peers.

6. There may be a high relationship between the teacher's rating and a child's self-rating.

7. There may be a low relationship between the teacher's rating and the peers' rating.

8. The very highest peer ratings seem to be of students who are "overlooked" by teachers. Teachers may tend to overlook the most gifted synthetic-personal students.

9. There may be a moderate positive relationship between the parent's rating of the child and the child's self rating.

Conclusions and Recommendations

The following tentative conclusions seem to be warranted from our investigation:

1. The use of the "WHO" and the "O," employing the procedures which have been described, will identify previously overlooked students, who, with the regular post-screening procedure, will be identified as "gifted."

2. Among the students so identified will be previously excluded minorities.

3. Some of the students so identified will be previously excluded White students.

4. No single pre-screening rating of a student will be sufficient to insure that large groups of talented students are not overlooked.

5. This total assessment approach is more valid than previously utilized assessment procedures for any cultural group. However, in view of the fact that the "WHO" and the "O" check list have been designed deliberately to emphasize synthetic-personal stylistic characteristics, and in view of the fact that such characteristics are thought to be associated with particular ethnic, economic or cultural groups, it is necessary that other investigations be carried out with other ethnic groups in order to determine if the stylistic variations which have been identified are sufficient to account for the range of behavior in a given cultural group, or if further explications of stylistic behavior are required.

6. One thing that becomes abundantly clear is that while it may be possible to identify previously excluded or overlooked students who have high "ability," "talent," "aptitude," or "intelligence," such identification would be virtually useless if the instructional program of the school remains tailored so that only a narrow atomistic-objective style is reflected in the school program. Style in behavior is real. No particular style is better or worse than another. The schools have an obligation as a service institution for the public to provide an appropriate education for every child. Therefore, it would seem imperative that existing school curricula be examined from the point of view of the various behavioral styles that exist, that the training of assessment personnel reflects what is known about style, and that extensive training of teachers is required to utilize data which comes from an examination of the interaction of behavioral styles in educational settings.

Further Study

Much further study is needed! The surface barely has been scratched in this vital area. It seems clear from recent activity in the area of standardized test development and recent criticisms of standardized tests, that the public will demand much greater sophistication, equity, reality, and accountability in all assessment procedures. From what we have learned, that process can be aided by further study of the following:

1. Further in-depth study of behavioral style as manifested in school settings is required.

2. Further in-depth study of the potential for cross-cultural assessment of student behavior which takes into account the impact of the assessor as a style user as well as the impact of student style in educational activities is required.

3. Further investigation is needed to determine the impact on students' ratings of their awareness of the purposes for the ratings that they make of themselves and other students.

4. An in-depth study of the "second level of assessment," after students have been identified by a check list such as the "WHO" or the "O," is required. For example, what is known about behavioral style must be reflected in the use of existing standardized tests.

5. The curriculum for students must be examined systematically to determine the extent to which one style may be favored over another. Otherwise, there is no point in identifying the range of stylistic behavior among students.

6. There is a need to investigate the relationship between the behavioral styles of out-of-school minority students and those who remain in school. There is a strong possibility that many drop-outs and many students who are suspended or expelled for "behavior problems" may be so situated because of the school's failure to accommodate to basic stylistic differences.

7. There is a need for extensive investigation of the interaction between assessor style and pupil style in assessment setting.

8. There is a need to investigate the relationship of style and learning for specific content areas. For example, both analytic-objective and synthetic-personal style users can learn mathematics. Both can also learn art, however, both approach these subjects in different ways. More precision is required in order to understand how this happens.

9. There is a need for an in-depth investigation of the impact that the assessor's degree of knowledge about or familiarity with a given child has on the accuracy of the assessment of that child's "intelligence."

10. There is a need for a large scale study, with sufficient sample size to determine the impact of ethnic and sex differences on assessor judgements and student behavior.

Summary

Our investigations have shown, that far from being a simple and easy process, the assessment of student "ability" is a highly complex process which required highly prepared observers. The assessment processes must be built by a multidisciplinary group of assessors who have a demonstrated cross-cultural sophistication. The assessment process must account for stylistic differences among observers. The assessment process must account for stylistic differences among children. The assessment process must utilize a variety of levels of information and must utilize information from many sources external to the classroom, as well as including behavior in the classroom. Finally, the assessment process must utilize information about the child over time.

The conclusion seems clear. Traditional approaches to the assessment of "intelligence" have proceeded as if the dynamic behaviors which we have described do not exist. We feel that the evidence is compelling that these dynamics do exist and that to proceed in ignorance of them is equivalent to ignoring the wind on a rifle range, the weather, and movement of heavenly bodies on a missile range, or temperature, heart beat, and pulse rate in a physical examination. A sophisticated assessment model requires that every conceivable influential variable be accounted for to the extent that it is possible to do so. Our approach is far from complete. We do not know everything about children from these data. But we do know that there is much more of vital importance to know.

Therefore, traditional assessment can proceed only by doing violence to children if the minimal data which comes from unsophisticated IQ tests is presented as complete, and is regarded as "scientific."

Cautions and Interpretation

It is critically important that those who would use the information presented here be aware of the following points:

1. We do not regard style as in any way equivalent to IQ or "intelligence." We simply regard style as the vehicle through which intelligence is expressed.

2. We do not posit the notion of style as an excuse to explain why some children do not learn some subjects. In fact, we believe that there is evidence to indicate that any content may be learned by any style user. The question is simply one of how a given style user will approach the task and whether the approach that a given style user uses is compatible with that of the teacher or the institution which provides instruction.

3. Finally, it is our opinion that the evidence indicates that style is. However, there is no intent here to take sides in any debate over whether style should or should not exist. That would be a separate discussion and would be resolved in terms of the aims of society and education.

The acceptance of the notion of style in behavior would, of necessity, affect assessment practice, educational priorities, teaching strategies, and counseling activity. These areas must take into account the individual and group differences among students. The simple industrial model may be perfect for industry. However, for schools, it is a disaster. "Standardized assessment" as traditionally conceived will do violence to the human spirit.

TABLE VI

MULTIPLE TALENT SCORES OF 26 SECOND GRADE STUDENTS

Students	Academic	Creativity	Planning	Communicating	Fore-casting	Decision Making
1	++	+	-	0	0	0
2	++	+	-	0	-	-
3	++	-	0	+	-	-
4	++	-	0	0	0	0
5	++	-	-	0	0	0
6	++	-	-	0	0	0
7	++	-	0	0	-	-
8	+	++	+	++	+	0
9	+	++	+	+	0	0
10	+	0	++	0	+	+
11	+	+	+	++	0	0
12	+	+	0	0	+	++
13	+	++	0	+	0	0
14	+	-	-	-	0	-
15	0	+	-	++	-	0
16	0	++	+	+	0	0
17	0	-	-	++	0	0
18	-	++	+	+	0	0
19	-	++	0	0	0	-
20	-	++	-	0	0	0
21	-	++	-	0	-	-
22	-	+	++	0	0	-
23	-	-	0	++	0	0
24	-	0	0	-	+	++
25	-	-	0	0	+	+
26	-	-	-	-	-	++

LEGEND: ++=Higest; +=Above Average; 0=Average; -=Below Average

From Beverly Lloyd's project for a master's degree
(Cited by Dr. Harold Hodgkinson, Director, National Institute of Education, Washington, D.C. 1975)

CHAPTER VII

86

The "Gifted" Child and the School's Implications of Behavioral Style

Some time ago the New York School for the Performing Arts published its artist's criteria. Those criteria were as follows:

1. The work shows a fresh viewpoint or insight.

2. The technique shows individuality and initiative

3. Persistence is shown in solving problems in detail or broad pattern.

4. The work is not imitative but shows a fresh sensitivity to possibilities.

5. The work shows more than patient practice and conformity to a given model.

6. There is some sign of protest against custom.

7. The work would have been done without external motivation.

8. The artist has the capacity for self-criticism, self-evaluation, and subsequent independent improvement.

When these criteria are juxtaposed to existing standardized measures of "intelligence" it becomes clear almost immediately that many of the aspects of "gifted behavior" as seen by the New York School for the Performing Arts are not only measured in existing standardized tests but frequently appear to be antithetical to those things which are being measured (Cohen, 1971). For example, on existing standardized tests of IQ the intellectual potential of a student to do work which is not "imitative" and work which shows "a fresh sensitivity" to possibilities is not measured at all, nor can it be by those means. Clearly, such an assessment cannot be made with preconceived questions and preconceived answers. The pity here is that when given these criteria, most public school teachers, in the principal author's experience, would choose them as their goals. Yet, the criteria for the selection of students to participate in their courses for the gifted more frequently tend to be the antithetical criteria represented in standardized IQ tests. For example, the research of Beverly Lloyd (See Table VI) showed a low correlation between academic grades and other important variables.

It is also well to note that the school, in general, tends to provide for only one of the many styles for learning. For example, on Page 41, the two lists of school characteristics may be contrasted. In one case, characteristics are presented which seem to describe the dominant pattern of school activity.

An examination of that list will indicate that it is most congruent with the atomistic-objective style. An examination of the second list will indicate that it is most congruent with the synthetic-personal style. What seems to have happened in many cases in the operation of our schools, with the exception of a few alternatives is that the schools have fallen into a pattern of emphasizing the atomistic-objective style in the curriculum. Therefore, it satisfies one style of behavior among students, to the damage and detriment of thousands of others.

We have concluded that the gifted child is not uni-dimensional, as seems to be suggested by traditional approaches to the assessment of giftedness. It would appear from this that thousands of children apparently labeled as gifted, are simply conformists or glib. In our view, the gifted child is poly-dimensional, can integrate the opposing polarities of style within himself, and can perform appropriately in terms of the requirements of a variety of educational and social situations.

> The guidance material supplied by one such group cautions that teachers tend to err in identifying gifted children because they over-estimate the intelligence of glib, docile, attractive children, confuse conformity with giftedness, fail to take into account the child's background and mistake a child who has been coached, pushed and pressured by his parents, for a child who is naturally creative and mentally alert. They also caution that some pupils who have potential ability may have failed to develop it for such reasons as getting off to a poor start in the early grades due to absences, frequent changes in residence, or boring books; concealing ability to avoid being called a "brain" or an "egg head"; various kinds of cultural, physical or social deprivation.
> (Torrance, 1965, p. 24)

Gallwey (1974) a tennis professional, has written a short book, The Inner Game of Tennis which contains some of the best educational philosophy and pedagogy which has been written, even though the book was written about the teaching of tennis. Specifically, it gives excellent examples of the integration of polar stylistic dispositions as a more effective way to learn and act. Gallwey suggested a basic approach to testing:

> I am beginning to learn what all pros and good students of tennis must learn; that images are better than words, showing better than telling, too much instruction worse than none, and that conscious training often produces negative results. (p. 19)

Gallwey describes, in detail, the dangers and dysfunction of a "hyper-cognitive" focus on teaching and learning:

> Clearly, to play unconsciously does not mean to play without consciousness. That would be quite difficult! In fact, someone playing "out of his mind" is more aware of the ball, the court, and when necessary, his opponent, that he is not aware of giving himself a lot of instructions, thinking about how to hit the ball, how to correct past mistakes, or how to repeat what he just did. He is conscious, but not thinking, not over-trying. A player in this state knows where he wants the ball to go, but he doesn't have to "try hard" to send it there. It just seems to happen and often with more accuracy than he could have hoped for. The player

> seems to be enmeshed in a flow of action which requires his energy, yet results in greater power and accuracy. The "hot streak" usually continues until he starts thinking about it and tries to maintain it; and so, as he attempts to exercise control, he loses it.
>
> To test this theory is a simple matter if you don't mind a little underhanded gamesmanship. The next time your opponent is having a "hot streak," simply ask him as you switch courts, "Say George, what are you doing so differently that's making your forehand so good today?" If he takes the bait--and ninety-five percent will--and begins to think about how he swings, telling you how he's really meeting the ball out in front, keeping his wrist firm and following through better, his streak will invariably end, he will lose his timing and fluidity as he will try to repeat what he has just told you he was doing so well. (p. 29)

One cannot help but reflect upon the current mania about explicating in great detail all of the "objectives" that appear to constitute the teaching or learning processes. Do all the small pieces add up to a whole? That must be debated.

Ernie Smith, (1977), now a professor at the University of California, Irvine, and who had once been labeled a verbal cripple by his teachers in elementary school, later was able to write about his experiences in developing "bi-stylistic" language facility.

Dr. Buford Gibson, of Pacific Psychotherapy Associates and Mr. Rudy Smith, Director of the Mount Zion Hospital Crisis Clinic in San Francisco, both emphasize the "appropriate" use of behavior as the key element in identifying gifted behavior. Dr. Orlando Taylor, linguist with the Center for the Study of Applied Linguistics, similarly emphasizes the "code switching" and "appropriateness" criteria. Significantly, the key criteria, which are identified by skilled observers of human behavior, can receive no score on existing standardized tests of "intelligence!" As if that problem isn't bad enough, frequently, gifted behavior is rejected in the school setting! This was alluded to in an earlier chapter on cross-cultural assessment principles. Sometimes the very behavior which identifies the student as gifted gets him or her into grave difficulty.

Must Gifted Children be Separated into Special Classes?

It is almost a truism among educators that all children should be responded to in terms of their own special needs and capabilities. "Gifted" children should be no exception to this rule. The traditional response to the discovery of "gifted" children has been to establish separate courses into which all gifted children are placed. We wish to take no issue here or to take sides on the main question at this time. However, in light of our findings about "gifted" behavior, certain basic questions must be asked. In the first place, the primary criterion for selection into the gifted program is that a student score in the top two percent on the standardized test of intelligence. Standardized tests of intelligence differ widely. Consequently, it cannot be assured that the same measured dimensions would be responsible for a child's placement as we move from one test to another. Further, most tests measure very few behavioral functions. Consequently, once a group of "gifted" children is identified, there is no assurance whatsoever that the curriculum offered will be designed for the use of the abilities which have been tapped. Further, as our investigations indicate, there is both a very

TABLE VII
Item Analysis of Results Compiled from Baccelli Study
1971 - 72
San Francisco Unified School District
Mentally Gifted Minor Prescreening Checklist

N = 517 (Nominated Students)

Items which tend to discriminate gifted from non-gifted children	Items which tend to discriminate between minority and non-minority children selected as gifted			Other White	Black	Chinese	Spanish Surnamed
				OW	B	C	S
		1.	Is an avid reader		-	+	
		2.	Has received an award in science, art, literature.		+	-	
x		3.	Has avid interest in science or literature.		-		
x		4.	Very alert, rapid answers.		-		
	x	5.	Is outstanding in math.		-		
x		6.	Has a wide range of interests.		-		
		7.	Is very secure emotionally.				+
x		8.	Is venturesome, anxious to do new things.	+	-		
		9.	Tends to dominate peers or situations.			-	+
		10.	Readily makes money on various projects or activities--is an entrepreneur.				-
		11.	Individualistic--likes to work by self.			+	-
	x	12.	Is sensitive to feelings of others--or to situations.			+	-
		13.	Has confidence in self.	+			
		14.	Needs little outside control--disciplines self.		-	+	-

TABLE VII (Continued)

Items which tend to discriminate gifted from non-gifted children	Items which tend to discriminate between minority and non-minority children selected as gifted			Other White	Black	Chinese	Spanish Surnamed
		15.	Adept at visual art expression		−	+	−
		16.	Resourceful--can solve problems by ingenious methods		−	+	−
x		17.	Creative in thoughts, new ideas, seeing associations, innovations, etc. (not artistically)			−	+
		18.	Body or facial gestures very expressive.	+			
		19.	Impatient--quick to anger or anxious to complete a task.	+		−	
x		20.	Great desire to excel even to the point of cheating.				+
	x	21.	Colorful verbal expressions	+	−		
	x	22.	Tells very imaginative stories.				
		23.	Frequently interrupts others when they are talking.		+	−	
		24.	Frank in appraisal of adults.		+		−
x		25.	Has mature sense of humor (puns, associations, etc.)	+	−	−	
x		26.	Is inquisitive.	+			
		27.	Takes a close look at things			−	
		28.	Is eager to tell others about discoveries.	+			

TABLE VII (Continued)

Items which tend to discriminate gifted from non-gifted children	Items which tend to discriminate between minority and non-minority children selected as gifted			Other White	Black	Chinese	Spanish Surnamed
		29.	Can show relationships among apparently unrelated ideas.	+			
		30.	Shows excitement in voice about discoveries.	+			
x		31.	Has a tendency to lose awareness of time.			-	

Note: 1. Six out of ten items which are associated with a decision to label a child as gifted, are items where the Afro-American child is rated as low.

2. Three out of six of the items which were not associated with a decision to label the child as gifted, were items where Afro-American children were high, compared to other White gifted. While these three items are considered by Paul Torrance to be evidence of gifted "creative" behavior, they appear to be judged by teachers as negative behaviors when exhibited by Afro-American children.

3. Only on two out of seven items on which Chinese pupils were rated highest, were those items associated with the decision to label the child as gifted.

4. Spanish surnamed children were rated highest on three items. Two of the three may suggest negative values.

5. Other White children seemed to be named most often and seemed also to be described by the most "socially desirable" items.

wide range of untapped ability which should be assessed and which is important to the school and there is also the key point that gifted behavior must include the harmonizing of the dispositions which each individual possesses, that is to say, "affective" and "cognitive" appear as a whole. The attempt to separate cognitive out of context may well not yield gifted behavior at all, but simply conforming behavior. This would explain the frequently discovered low correlation between tests of intelligence and tests of creativity. (See Table VII presented earlier)

Because of this confusion, the question arises as to whether an appropriate educational experience can be provided for a "gifted" child in a regular classroom setting. Clearly such a suggestion is threatening to many people who work in programs for the gifted, for it seems that the support for the program is dependent upon the allocation of categorical aid. That is, a child must be identified by some means as gifted in order for external support to be received. This, however, is a political rather than a pedagogical problem. The pedagogical questions are: What are the services to be provided to "gifted" children? Are gifted children "gifted" all the time? In every subject? and so forth.

It would seem that it is possible to respond to the multiple talents which students display and to define new roles for "teachers" of the gifted. It seems clear that there are a variety of supporting roles for which a gifted specialist might play in support of the educational programs in the school, whether or not children are sorted into special classes. Some of these might be as follows:

1. Counseling gifted children in groups or as individuals on the basis of the special problems that they face.
2. Counseling regular classroom teachers on what to expect from gifted students, particularly their behavioral style which sometimes becomes challenging to teachers.
3. Consultation to teachers on special teaching strategies for individualizing their instructional program and mainstream classroom.
4. Consultation to teachers, parents, and administrators on the meaning of behavior style and its variations in a school setting.
5. Consultation on the variety of grouping possibilities within regular classrooms from one subject to another.
6. Counseling other children regarding their interaction with gifted children.
7. Counseling parents of gifted children regarding their special needs.
8. Consultation to teachers and instructional personnel regarding specific curricular resources to augment their program for gifted students.
9. Consultation to administrators on special arrangements and requirements for serving the needs of gifted children.

Quite clearly, categorical funds are needed to support the work of specialists who are thoroughly grounded in all aspects of serving children with special talents in regular classrooms. It is also quite clear that this role of a floating resource specialist is in keeping with the contemporary thrust toward mainstreaming in education. This discussion is, therefore, an attempt simply to keep open the question of how highly talented children may be served in the regular classroom.

Testing should be only a small part of assessment, if assessment is conducted properly. However, testing represents as much as 90% of the activity in public schools which takes place under the heading of assessment. Clearly, something more is required if real assessment is to take place.

If assessment is to be done for pedagogical reasons, we have no alternative to the use of observation and listening by a variety of observers who know and understand the child intimately. Anything less is unworthy of a true professional's time and is a disservice to the prime client, the child.

It needs but half an eye to see in these latter days of science, the Grand Revelator of Modern Western Culture, has reached, without having intended to, a frontier. Either it must bury its dead, close its ranks, and go forward into a landscape of increasing strangeness, replete with things shocking to a culture - trammeled understanding or it must become, in Claude Houghton's expressive phrase, the plagiarist of its own past. The frontier was forseen in principle very long ago, and given a name that has descended to our day clouded with myth. That name was Babel. For science's long and heroic effort to be strictly factual has at last brought it into entanglement with the unsuspected facts of the linguistic order. These facts the older classical science had never admitted, confronted, or understood as facts. Instead they had entered its house by the back door and had been taken for the substance of Reason itself.

What we call "scientific thought" is a specialization of the Western Indo-European type of language, which has developed not only a set of different dialectics, but actually a set of different dialects. THESE DIALECTS ARE NOW BECOMING MUTUALLY UNINTELLIGIBLE.

...And my task is to explain an idea to all those who, if Western culture survives the present welter of barbarism, may be pushed by events to leadership in reorganizing the whole human future...

We must find out more about language! Already we know enough about it to know that it is not what the great majority of men, lay or scientific, think it is. The fact that we talk almost effortlessly, unaware of the exceedingly complex mechanism we are using, creates an illusion. We think we know how it is done, that there is no mystery; we have all the answers. Alas, what wrong answers! It is like the way a man's uncorrected sense impressions give him a picture of the universe that is simple, sensible, and satisfying, but very wide of the truth.
(Whorf, 1956, pp. 246-247, 250)

If you listen back, you might be able to hear what's happening up.
If you listen up, you might be able to take what's going down!
(Roland Kirk)

Appendix A

Total Self Ratings by Ethnic Group and by Sex
(N = 171)

	SUM	MEAN	STD DEV	VARIANCE	N
	2994.00	17.51	6.79	45.35	(171)
BLACK	780.00	17.73	7.26	52.76	(44)
GIRL	459.00	19.96	[illegible]	[illegible]	(23)
BOY	321.00	15.29	7.75	60.01	(21)
OTHER WHITE	1053.00	18.80	6.49	42.16	(56)
GIRL	465.00	19.38	5.46	29.81	(24)
BOY	588.00	18.38	7.23	52.24	(32)
OTHER NON-WHITE	349.00	19.39	5.60	31.31	(18)
GIRL	186.00	20.67	3.77	14.25	(9)
BOY	163.00	18.11	6.97	48.61	(9)
FILIPINO	497.00	16.57	6.77	45.77	(30)
GIRL	310.00	18.24	7.49	56.07	(17)
BOY	187.00	14.38	5.17	26.76	(13)
SPANISH SURNAME	275.00	14.47	6.46	41.71	(19)
GIRL	127.00	14.11	4.78	22.86	(9)
BOY	148.00	14.80	7.93	62.84	(10)
CHINESE	40.00	10.00	2.94	8.67	(4)
GIRL	21.00	10.50	.71	.50	(2)
BOY	19.00	9.50	4.55	24.50	(2)

Appendix B

Self Ratings: Principal Factor No Interations
(N=171)

	FACTOR 1	FACTOR 2	FACTOR 3	FACTOR 4	FACTOR 5	FACTOR 6	FACTOR 7	FACTOR 8	FACTOR 9	FACTOR 10	FACTOR 11
1	.43	.11	.40	.25	-.37	-.13	-.06	-.10	.05	.16	-.08
2	.38	-.05	-.11	.39	.44	.26	.14	.11	-.05	.00	.22
3	.39	.28	.02	-.42	.24	-.19	.12	.04	-.20	.11	-.12
4	.18	.54	.42	.20	-.10	.01	-.22	.19	-.09	.05	-.20
5	.47	-.37	-.05	-.25	-.06	-.12	-.08	-.11	.54	-.01	-.04
6	.38	-.45	.18	.28	.11	-.01	-.08	-.21	.17	.19	-.27
7	.37	-.20	.00	-.43	-.28	-.06	-.08	-.01	-.11	.20	.04
8	.08	.69	-.06	-.01	.18	.13	.16	.01	.01	-.02	-.05
9	.51	-.10	.33	-.03	-.28	-.17	.04	-.16	-.17	-.21	.00
10	.32	-.28	-.07	.39	.02	.16	.06	.06	-.24	.02	-.42
11	.13	.46	.48	.13	-.21	.03	.11	.28	.27	.12	-.01
12	.38	.02	.19	.07	.25	-.29	-.13	.22	.21	-.40	.10
13	.38	-.24	.28	-.36	.12	.24	.09	.36	.09	.32	.03
14	.41	-.18	.15	.06	.26	-.38	.16	-.13	-.13	.00	.42
15	.38	-.12	.33	-.01	.44	-.25	-.01	.03	.06	-.25	-.24
16	.21	-.47	.22	.27	.16	.34	.18	.00	-.05	.15	.16
17	.55	.02	-.14	-.27	-.04	.08	.20	.30	.22	-.05	-.03
18	.42	-.18	-.04	.17	.15	-.24	-.05	.42	-.31	.15	-.06
19	.38	-.13	.15	-.33	-.19	.19	.14	-.07	-.33	.07	.14
20	.44	-.09	.25	-.03	-.19	.03	-.20	-.03	-.05	-.24	.39
21	.36	-.08	.03	-.01	-.12	.17	.47	-.13	.13	-.48	-.21
22	.30	.15	.03	.05	.12	.10	-.60	-.03	-.01	-.09	.15
23	.51	.19	.13	-.39	.33	.19	-.01	-.10	-.11	-.01	-.07
24	.48	.03	.11	-.05	.15	.23	-.28	-.26	.13	.25	-.10
25	.52	.23	-.39	-.11	.05	-.19	-.07	.11	-.07	-.03	-.10
26	.55	.09	-.05	.03	-.01	.21	-.21	-.24	-.11	-.09	-.04
27	.26	.23	.16	.17	-.08	-.44	.40	-.26	-.07	.24	.06
28	.57	-.05	-.14	.03	-.22	.21	.10	.18	.15	-.03	.02
29	.70	-.04	-.35	-.05	-.12	-.10	-.07	.04	-.01	-.01	-.04
30	.47	.21	.01	.16	-.20	.39	.06	.03	-.19	-.26	.12
31	.60	.00	-.42	.32	-.11	-.18	-.02	.02	.07	.12	.07
32	.47	.33	-.16	-.05	.17	.05	.07	-.42	.00	.06	-.09
33	.24	.38	.12	.19	.13	.10	.13	-.10	.33	.23	.29
34	.62	.03	-.34	.16	-.26	-.11	-.05	.11	-.03	.04	-.01

Appendix C
Self Ratings After Rotation with Kaiser Normalization, Varimax
Rotated Factor Matrix
(N=171)

	FACTOR 1	FACTOR 2	FACTOR 3	FACTOR 4	FACTOR 5	FACTOR 6	FACTOR 7	FACTOR 8	FACTOR 9	FACTOR 10	FACTOR 11
1	.18	.52	.01	-.07	-.01	.31	.00	.35	.28	.03	.04
2	.21	-.04	-.02	.74	.17	.00	.16	.00	.00	.01	-.06
3	.16	.04	.35	-.14	.20	-.08	.51	-.19	.24	-.04	.11
4	.00	.76	-.08	-.05	.10	.10	.20	-.06	-.02	-.14	.14
5	.31	-.20	.31	-.20	.27	.09	-.01	.52	-.05	.19	-.29
6	.10	-.01	.04	.20	.13	.01	.03	.74	.10	.04	.16
7	.24	-.11	.48	-.25	-.12	.23	.07	.13	.09	-.08	.07
8	.05	.33	-.11	.06	-.02	-.18	.46	-.37	.02	.10	-.20
9	.15	.13	.10	-.11	.17	.53	.07	.18	.29	.23	.20
10	.27	.05	-.06	.34	-.05	-.08	.03	.31	-.04	.18	.52
11	-.04	.78	.14	-.01	.05	.00	-.06	-.04	.09	.09	-.22
12	.18	.11	-.02	.05	.72	.17	.00	.00	-.01	.04	-.08
13	.02	.11	.80	.19	.10	.02	.05	.16	-.07	-.02	.00
14	.10	-.20	.11	.25	.38	.29	.05	.04	.54	-.12	-.07
15	-.04	.04	.09	.07	.68	.00	.23	.23	.10	.11	.20
16	-.10	-.08	.21	.62	-.04	.16	-.12	.33	.06	.09	.08
17	.45	.06	.47	.02	.18	.00	.12	-.05	-.08	.30	-.14
18	.43	.06	.21	.26	.27	-.02	-.06	.00	.15	-.24	.41
19	.05	-.07	.45	.04	-.18	.43	.19	-.03	.15	.11	.15
20	.14	.07	.12	.06	.19	.68	-.02	.05	.00	.00	-.10
21	.12	-.02	.02	.07	.13	.14	.11	.06	.04	.80	.04
22	.17	.11	-.11	.04	.20	.36	.27	.10	-.31	-.45	-.08
23	.03	.02	.36	.07	.19	.15	.66	-.01	-.02	.06	.02
24	.13	.12	.15	.10	.12	.15	.48	.47	-.10	-.13	-.11
25	.63	-.02	.06	-.09	.16	-.02	.33	-.13	.02	-.03	.04
26	.30	.05	-.03	.11	-.01	.36	.44	.19	-.10	.06	.05
27	.13	.21	-.06	-.02	.00	.00	.11	.04	.76	.06	-.06
28	.51	.13	.26	.17	-.02	.19	.02	.10	-.09	.28	-.09
29	.72	-.08	.16	-.02	.10	.18	.20	.11	.05	.07	.04
30	.28	.24	-.02	.29	-.10	.45	.22	-.16	-.11	.29	.04
31	.78	-.01	-.09	.17	.03	.06	.04	.16	.17	-.03	-.08
32	.25	.00	-.09	.03	-.03	.04	.65	.10	.18	.12	-.14
33	.21	.20	-.06	.27	-.06	-.09	.23	.00	.15	-.04	-.56
34	.75	.08	.03	.04	-.01	.16	.05	.08	.07	.04	.05

Appendix D

Total Ratings of Peers By Ethnic Group

(N=171)

	SUM	MEAN	STD DEV	VARIANCE	N
	199.00	1.16	2.16	4.68	(171)
BLACK	48.00	1.09	1.91	3.67	(44)
GIRL	14.00	.61	.89	.79	(23)
BOY	34.00	1.62	2.54	6.45	(21)
OTHER WHITE	88.00	1.57	2.62	6.87	(56)
GIRL	30.00	1.25	2.56	6.54	(24)
BOY	58.00	1.81	2.68	7.19	(32)
OTHER NON-WHITE	19.00	1.06	2.41	5.82	(18)
GIRL	15.00	1.67	3.24	10.50	(9)
BOY	4.00	.44	1.01	1.03	(9)
FILIPINO	20.00	.67	1.03	1.06	(30)
GIRL	14.00	.82	1.19	1.40	(17)
BOY	6.00	.46	.78	.60	(13)
SPANISH SUR-NAME	23.00	1.21	2.46	6.06	(19)
GIRL	1.00	.11	.33	.11	(9)
BOY	22.00	2.20	2.12	9.73	(10)
CHINESE	1.00	.25	.50	.25	(4)
GIRL					(2)
BOY	1.00	.50	.71	.50	(2)

TOTAL CASES = 174

MISSING CASES = 3 OR 1.7 PCT.

Appendix E

Peer Ratings: Principal Factor No Iterations

(N=174)

	FACTOR 1	FACTOR 2	FACTOR 3	FACTOR 4	FACTOR 5	FACTOR 6	FACTOR 7	FACTOR 8	FACTOR 9	FACTOR 10	FACTOR 11	FACTOR 12
1	.26	.26	.08	.26	.46	.38	.10	.03	-.29	.02	.09	-.01
2	.33	.30	-.04	-.21	.13	-.09	-.13	.11	-.46	.25	.36	.16
3	.45	.24	-.26	-.39	-.22	-.16	.34	.04	.05	.11	-.24	.08
4	.30	.49	-.14	.39	-.26	.10	-.06	-.10	.18	-.15	.02	-.05
5	.50	-.54	-.17	-.04	-.11	.25	-.04	-.15	-.08	.10	.17	-.11
6	.50	-.51	-.20	.05	-.08	.20	.10	.01	.06	.04	.21	.10
7	.50	-.17	.11	-.13	.13	-.25	-.29	-.08	-.09	.06	-.19	-.14
8	.26	.48	-.37	-.12	-.02	.12	-.09	.20	.29	-.17	-.24	-.14
9	.23	-.16	.36	-.20	.15	.19	-.18	-.12	.28	-.14	.28	.26
10	.29	-.20	-.11	.22	.11	-.38	-.20	.02	.00	.43	-.25	-.01
11	.25	.36	.11	.48	.20	.09	-.11	.13	-.05	.11	-.24	.19
12	.33	.25	.47	-.21	-.09	.04	-.32	.32	-.04	.18	.11	.07
13	.33	.21	.11	.32	.20	-.16	.00	-.30	.14	.18	.14	-.51
14	.45	-.06	.07	-.48	.23	-.17	.09	-.21	-.05	-.25	-.08	-.07
15	.24	-.05	.46	-.23	-.10	.34	.02	-.11	.13	.14	-.34	-.10
16	.19	-.46	-.19	.21	-.12	-.16	-.10	.50	.01	.06	.07	-.09
17	.49	-.34	.24	.06	-.13	.18	.03	-.15	-.03	-.02	-.15	-.19
18	.31	-.12	.28	.12	.18	.00	.13	.39	.31	-.11	.10	.12
19	.46	.20	.24	-.23	.29	-.23	-.31	.09	.04	.03	.03	-.13
20	.50	-.43	-.29	-.01	-.17	.17	-.20	.08	-.17	-.04	.05	-.16
21	.25	-.28	.00	.00	.11	-.11	.47	-.14	.15	.49	-.07	.20
22	.38	.10	.05	-.01	.03	.24	.45	.39	-.17	.03	.00	-.33
23	.38	.31	.08	.19	-.46	-.03	.06	-.27	-.11	.08	.32	.06
24	.47	.25	-.09	.33	-.17	-.05	-.10	-.25	.12	-.04	.07	.01
25	.41	.20	.08	-.15	-.27	-.30	.20	.23	.02	-.25	.20	-.21
26	.35	.02	.45	-.06	-.26	.35	.05	-.03	.17	.08	-.06	.10
27	.33	.23	-.43	-.18	.35	.20	-.28	-.10	.34	.06	.12	.01
28	.57	-.24	-.22	.04	-.03	-.02	-.22	-.06	-.12	-.25	-.19	.10
29	.39	.12	.30	.35	.10	-.03	.18	.03	-.27	-.22	-.21	.10
30	.30	-.16	.00	.20	.25	-.28	.28	.11	.43	-.02	.19	.05
31	.33	-.05	.04	-.04	.35	-.23	.31	-.28	-.18	-.32	.04	.09
32	.50	.46	-.14	-.19	-.30	-.20	.07	-.02	-.02	.14	-.03	.26
33	.30	.17	-.52	-.08	.26	.41	.12	.05	-.06	.03	-.06	.14
34	.40	-.32	.03	.24	-.11	-.15	-.16	.07	-.02	-.24	-.13	.32

Appendix F

Peer Ratings: Varimax Rotated Factor Matrix
With Kaiser Normalization
(N=174)

	FACTOR 1	FACTOR 2	FACTOR 3	FACTOR 4	FACTOR 5	FACTOR 6	FACTOR 7	FACTOR 8	FACTOR 9	FACTOR 10	FACTOR 11	FACTOR 12
1	-.01	-.30	.10	.30	.05	.16	-.08	.25	-.01	.50	.06	.34
2	.06	.12	.08	.11	-.13	.11	.07	.79	-.11	.09	.05	.09
3	.06	-.78	.08	.18	.08	.17	.05	.04	-.03	-.06	.19	.15
4	-.02	.16	-.68	.20	.01	-.12	-.05	-.10	.03	.23	.20	.03
5	-.77	-.11	.08	.08	.16	.09	.04	.05	-.03	-.16	.21	.08
6	-.71	-.01	.06	.10	.08	.05	-.11	.02	.23	-.06	.26	.02
7	.30	.08	-.01	-.01	.15	.24	.57	.13	.00	.06	.04	-.06
8	-.07	.43	.16	.56	.00	.09	.09	-.14	.06	.06	.34	.14
9	.10	-.23	.00	.12	.43	.22	-.10	.22	.34	-.12	.04	-.31
10	.21	.09	.01	-.03	-.14	-.15	-.62	.00	.04	.17	.32	-.12
11	-.13	-.02	.21	.16	.05	-.16	.16	.08	.08	.69	.02	-.00
12	-.06	.12	.03	-.06	.44	-.15	.20	.58	.17	.08	.22	.02
13	-.09	-.27	-.54	.09	.02	.15	.48	-.04	.07	-.02	.11	.31
14	.15	.22	-.09	.11	.18	.67	.21	.09	.04	-.12	.05	.03
15	.02	.05	-.08	-.00	-.76	.04	.12	-.08	.08	.04	.05	.09
16	.52	.05	-.15	-.16	-.24	-.32	.18	-.01	.34	.01	.03	.10
17	.47	-.04	.12	-.13	.44	.17	.17	-.13	.01	.08	.07	.14
18	-.08	-.00	-.07	.00	.18	.01	.00	.05	.67	.18	.01	.08
19	-.04	.07	.04	.15	.18	.25	.52	.39	.21	.03	.20	.02
20	.79	.04	.03	.09	.01	-.02	.11	.05	-.05	-.05	.09	.10
21	.10	.15	-.04	-.02	.10	.08	.08	-.05	.17	-.00	.78	.05
22	.15	.18	-.01	.05	.14	.04	-.08	.09	.15	.17	.01	.75
23	.10	.17	.72	-.17	.10	.01	-.12	.27	-.08	.02	.08	.01
24	.15	.10	.64	.13	.03	.05	.12	-.00	.05	.17	.01	-.09
25	.08	.42	.28	-.19	-.01	.20	.04	.16	.30	-.14	.26	.30
26	.10	.08	.18	-.05	.69	-.06	-.10	.08	.12	.09	.05	.02
27	.08	.01	.14	.81	-.02	.06	.15	.12	.05	-.11	.02	-.10
28	.60	.19	.08	.13	.01	.24	.19	-.04	-.01	.23	.14	-.17
29	.07	.05	.16	-.20	.11	.28	.04	.02	.10	.63	.03	.14
30	.06	.00	.13	.06	-.13	.15	.12	-.12	.66	-.02	.27	.04
31	.07	.02	.05	-.02	-.12	.73	.01	.02	.12	.17	.13	.03
32	-.01	.67	.38	.12	.06	.06	.05	.33	.13	.08	.09	-.06
33	.21	.17	-.04	.67	-.09	.06	-.19	.07	.03	.21	.13	.17
34	.47	.12	.05	-.17	.01	.09	.08	-.05	.24	.32	.07	-.33

Appendix G
Total Rating by Parent
(N=68)

	SUM	MEAN	STD. DEV.	VARIANCE	N
	1175.00	17.28	6.11	37.37	(68)
BLACK	127.00	14.11	6.81	46.36	(9)
GIRL	51.00	17.00	5.29	28.00	(3)
BOY	76.00	12.67	7.45	55.47	(6)
OTHER - WHITE	518.00	17.86	6.19	38.34	(29)
GIRL	222.00	17.08	6.55	42.91	(13)
BOY	296.00	18.50	6.02	36.27	(16)
OTHER - NON-WHITE	107.00	17.86	6.08	36.97	(6)
GIRL	68.00	22.67	3.21	10.33	(3)
BOY	39.00	13.00	3.46	12.00	(3)
FILIPINO	251.00	17.93	5.48	30.07	(14)
GIRL	157.00	19.63	5.04	25.41	(8)
BOY	94.00	15.67	5.65	31.87	(6)
SPANISH SURNAMED	142.00	17.75	7.19	51.64	(8)
GIRL	44.00	14.67	10.69	114.33	(3)
BOY	98.00	19.60	4.67	21.80	(5)
CHINESE	30.00	15.00	1.41	2.00	(2)
GIRL	14.00	14.00			(1)
BOY	16.00	16.00			(1)

Appendix H
Parent Ratings: Principal Factor, No Interations
(N=68)

ITEM	FACTOR 1	FACTOR 2	FACTOR 3	FACTOR 4	FACTOR 5	FACTOR 6
1	.79	-.01	.11	-.32	-.08	.08
2	.70	.19	.19	-.02	.11	-.11
3	.55	.43	-.10	.07	.12	-.15
4	.61	.44	.14	-.09	-.34	-.28
5	.75	-.10	-.03	.29	.08	-.02
6	.70	.10	-.37	.11	-.04	.08
7	.88	-.04	.06	-.01	-.06	-.09
8	.29	.63	-.17	-.14	.23	-.11
9	.58	-.16	.46	-.17	.30	.25
10	.72	-.19	.05	.04	-.12	-.33
11	.54	.46	.18	-.20	-.36	.12
12	.54	-.22	.47	-.20	.22	.02
13	.85	-.12	-.11	-.02	.07	-.06
14	.85	-.01	.05	.04	-.03	.08
15	.77	-.11	.16	-.09	.11	-.24
16	.76	-.10	-.13	-.23	.28	-.15
17	.64	-.16	-.03	-.05	-.08	-.20
18	.75	-.07	-.00	-.03	-.13	-.21
19	.82	-.04	-.04	.01	-.06	.08
20	.80	.01	-.08	.11	-.11	-.11
21	.72	-.08	-.38	-.20	.02	.10
22	.91	02	-.05	-.01	-.09	-.05
23	.66	-.17	-.31	-.15	-.13	-.10
24	.64	-.04	.06	.13	-.39	.21
25	.66	-.16	-.05	.36	.21	.00
26	.78	-.22	.07	.06	.04	.17
27	.47	.57	.26	.13	-.07	.24
28	.69	-.14	-.22	.10	.12	.20
29	.75	-.06	-.04	.20	.03	-.09
30	.54	-.10	-.14	.01	-.24	.56
31	.87	.09	.11	-.01	.10	.10
32	.40	.21	.17	.72	.13	-.01
33	.41	.48	-.25	-.19	.44	.20
34	.76	-.27	.07	-.12	-.02	.09

Appendix I
Total Parent Ratings After Varimax Rotated Factor Matrix With Kaiser Normalization
(N=68)

	FACTOR 1	FACTOR 2	FACTOR 3	FACTOR 4	FACTOR 5	FACTOR 6
1	.56	.44	.17	.36	.29	-.09
2	.44	.37	.28	.34	.01	.24
3	.35	.02	.49	.32	-.01	.27
4	.45	.03	.19	.74	-.07	.08
5	.59	.21	.11	.07	.23	.46
6	.57	-.07	.33	.13	.40	.22
7	.71	.33	.13	.30	.20	.20
8	.09	-.04	.70	.30	-.10	.05
9	.22	.80	.09	.08	.19	.11
10	.75	.19	-.06	.20	-.01	.17
11	.19	.14	.21	.75	.23	-.03
12	.32	.74	-.02	.10	.01	.05
13	.73	.27	.20	.10	.24	.17
14	.59	.33	.15	.28	.33	.25
15	.67	.43	.12	.18	-.03	.14
16	.69	.36	.36	-.02	.08	.00
17	.65	.17	.01	.14	.08	.06
18	.70	.19	.05	.27	.10	.11
19	.62	.26	.15	.24	.36	.19
20	.68	.12	.14	.27	.21	.26
21	.65	.09	.33	.02	.42	-.08
22	.73	.24	.20	.33	.27	.19
23	.71	.02	.12	.07	.26	-.08
24	.42	.11	-.13	.40	.47	.20
25	.52	.21	.11	-.09	.21	.51
26	.55	.41	.04	.09	.39	.24
27	-.03	.20	.33	.61	.22	.35
28	.51	.19	.22	-.06	.45	.23
29	.62	.18	.12	.14	.17	.36
30	.25	.13	.01	.16	.76	.05
31	.54	.43	.29	.30	.29	.26
32	.13	.05	.08	.16	.03	.85
33	.10	.15	.81	.06	.19	.04
34	.61	.43	.00	.11	.33	.05

Appendix J

AN OVERVIEW OF INSTRUMENTS AND TESTING SEQUENCE

for

San Francisco Unified School District

Programs For Mentally Gifted Minors
Dr. William B. Cummings, Supervisor

by

IDENTIFICATION OF GIFTED CHILDREN
A Research Project

Asa Hilliard, Ed.D. - Principal Investigator

Vinetta C. Johnson
Research Assistant
San Francisco State University

February, 1976

AN OVERVIEW OF INSTRUMENTS AND TESTING SEQUENCE

Instruments

The testing procedure involves two instruments, for convenience labeled 0 and Who. These two instruments are inventories of characteristics of gifted children. The 0 test is an inventory of characteristics for an individual child. In taking the test, the teacher, child or parent marks only those statements which fit a specified child. The reference population for the Who test is all of the students in a specified classroom. The answer to each item is the name of one (only one) child in the classroom. Any child's name may be used on any number of items, but only one child per item. If the teacher or child taking the Who test cannot think of anyone for a given question, that item should be left blank.

The atmosphere for the testing should be a comfortable, relaxed one. Words appearing in parentheses at the end of some items may be used by the teachers to explain the meaning of the questions or items. It is essential that the students comprehend the meanings of the items, thus, other clarification of item meaning should be offered by teachers as deemed necessary without fear of confounding results.

Testing Sequence

Following the exact procedure for testing sequence outlined below is crucial.

1. Each teacher takes the 0 test on a particular child. It is essential that he/she knows nothing about the Who test which is to be taken by each teacher after completion of the 0 test.
2. Each teacher takes the Who test for his/her classroom. It is essential that the teachers do not know at this time that their students will be taking the Who and 0 tests.
3. Each student takes the Who test, using his own classroom as the reference group. Students should not be told about the 0 test before they complete the Who test.
4. Each student takes the 0 test selecting the items which fit himself. Students should not be told that their parents will be completing the same inventory on them.
5. Each parent takes the 0 test using his/her child as the reference point.

Further Comments

1. Additional appropriate instructions for the teachers giving the tests to students and parents might be desirable.
2. Ethnic identification of students, parents and teachers is essential.
3. All testing data must be in before March 26. I am available to help in any manner necessary. I can be reached at 826-6246-----Vinetta C. Johnson.

Appendix K

O

Name ________________________________ Age ______________ Grade ______________

Male _____________ Female ___________

Mark each one which fits.

1. Is always getting excited about new things.
2. Is really funny sometimes.
3. Is good at fooling people (shining people on).
4. Has a quick temper.
5. Can make stories really interesting.
6. Can make up good stories.
7. Has lots of different ideas.
8. Can tell some of the biggest fibs, (lies).
9. Always tries new styles of clothes.
10. Likes to use different or new words.
11. Is very impatient.
12. Can really dance.
13. Can talk to grown-ups easily (is not afraid to talk to grown-ups).
14. Is good at making things up like games, dances, jokes, music, and pictures.
15. Knows the words to lots of songs.
16. Sets along well with all different kind of people.
17. Can make quick decisions.
18. Is good at guessing.
19. Does lots of different kinds of things.
20. Always asks the best questions (interesting, different).
21. Seems to know how other people feel.
22. Seems to notice everything.
23. Can get children to do things.
24. Can get grown-ups to do things.

25. Is really hard to con (to shine, to fool, to hype).

26. Is "hip" (really knows what is going on).

27. Is always bragging about different things.

28. Can talk more than one way (can really talk proper, everyday talk, talk to different groups).

29. Really knows what they want to do (makes up their own mind).

30. Seems to know what I am thinking.

31. Remembers a lot about T.V. programs.

32. Who knows how to put people down real fast (call down, insult).

33. Who is too nosey (always in everybody's business).

34. Can always find something to do.

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WHO

Name ____________________ Age ______________ Grade ______________

Male _______ Female ________

You do not have to mark if you can not think of anyone for a given question.

You can name someone more than once.

You can use the words in parentheses to explain the test taker.

1. Who is always getting excited about new things?
2. Who is really funny sometimes?
3. Who is good at fooling people, ("shining people on")?
4. Who has a quick temper?
5. Who can make stories really interesting?
6. Who can make up good stories?
7. Who has lots of different ideas?
8. Who can tell some of the biggest fibs (lies)?
9. Who always tries new styles of clothes?
10. Who likes to use different or new words?
11. Who is very impatient?
12. Who can really dance?
13. Who can talk to grown-ups easily (is not afraid to talk to grown-ups)?
14. Who is good at making things up like: games, dances, jokes, music, and pictures?
15. Who knows the words to lots of songs?
16. Who gets along well with all different kinds of people?
17. Who can make quick decisions?
18. Who is good at guessing?
19. Who does lots of different kinds of things?
20. Who always asks the best questions (interesting, different)?
21. Who seems to know how other people feel?
22. Who seems to notice everything?

23. Who can get children to do things?

24. Who can get grown-ups to do things?

25. Who is really hard to con (to shine, to fool, to hype)?

26. Who is "hip" (really knows what is going on)?

27. Who is always bragging about different things?

28. Who can talk more than one way (really talk proper, everyday talk, talk to different groups)?

29. Who really knows what they want to do (makes up their own mind)?

30. Who seems to know what I am thinking?

31. Who remembers a lot about T.V. programs?

32. Who knows how to put people down real fast (call down, insult)?

33. Who is too nosey (always in everybody's business)?

34. Who can always find something to do?

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Appendix

SAN FRANCISCO UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT

PROGRAMS FOR THE GIFTED
WILLIAM B. CUMMINGS, Supervisor

Student's Name ________ School ________ Grade ____ Room ____

Teacher's Name ________

To the Teachers:

We need your help. We're looking for children in your classroom who you feel might be a lot smarter than their test scores indicate. The following list of characteristics, while by no means all inclusive, represents traits found in gifted and creative children. If any student in your class is described by at least twelve (12) of the items on this list, you may want to watch him more carefully for possible inclusion in the gifted program. Those items which are most applicable should be double checked. Will you help us by responding to the following check list for the top students in your class. This checklist should be sent to the Building Principal who will then forward it to the Gifted Program Office. Supporting information and comments should be written on the back of this form.

____ 1. Is an avid reader.
____ 2. Has received an award in science, art, literature.
____ 3. Has avid interest in science or literature.
____ 4. Very alert, rapid answers.
____ 5. Is outstanding in math.
____ 6. Has a wide range of interests.
____ 7. Is very secure emotionally.
____ 8. Is venturesome, anxious to do new things.
____ 9. Tends to dominate peers or situations.
____ 10. Readily makes money on various projects or activities -- is an entrepreneur.
____ 11. Individualistic -- likes to work by self.
____ 12. Is sensitive to feelings of others -- or to situations.
____ 13. Has confidence in self.
____ 14. Needs little outside control -- disciplines self.
____ 15. Adept at visual art expression.
____ 16. Resourceful -- can solve problems by ingenious methods.

Continued on back

____ 17. Creative in thoughts, new ideas, seeing associations, innovations, etc. (not artistically).

____ 18. Body or facial gestures very expressive.

____ 19. Impatient -- quick to anger or anxious to complete a task.

____ 20. Great desire to excel even to the point of cheating.

____ 21. Colorful verbal expressions.

____ 22. Tells very imaginative stories.

____ 23. Frequently interrupts others when they are talking.

____ 24. Frank in appraisal of adults.

____ 25. Has mature sense of humor (puns, associations, etc.)

____ 26. Is inquisitive.

____ 27. Takes a close look at things.

____ 28. Is eager to tell others about discoveries.

____ 29. Can show relationships among apparently unrelated ideas.

____ 30. Shows excitement in voice about discoveries.

____ 31. Has a tendency to lose awareness of time.

SAN FRANCISCO UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT
135 Van Ness Avenue, San Francisco, California 94102

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Programs for the Gifted

Appendix N

SAN FRANCISCO UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT
135 VAN NESS AVENUE
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94102

[Extracts from]

HANDBOOK OF ADMINISTRATIVE REGULATIONS AND PROCEDURES FOR GIFTED PROGRAMS

1975

COMPILED BY
EFFIE ARGYRES, TEACHER SPECIALIST
PROGRAMS FOR THE GIFTED

WILLIAM B. CUMMINGS, SUPERVISOR
PROGRAMS FOR THE GIFTED

SECTION I: INTRODUCTION

E. SCHEMATIC OF PROCEDURES FOR IDENTIFYING MENTALLY GIFTED MINORS (2%ers), TEACHER JUDGEMENT (TJ), AND CULTURALLY DIFFERENT, UNDERACHIEVING MENTALLY GIFTED MINORS (3822) - SECONDARY

Recommendation by Principals, Teachers, Counselors
Prime Workers, Parents

Student Screened

Permission To Test Obtained (Form MGM-5E, C, SS &/or 5 Sec)

Test Administered

Results to School Identification & Placement Committee

Recommendations to Identification & Placement Committee,
Programs for the Gifted

2%er Information completed on
Identification Report Form (MGM-1)

TJ or 3822 Secondary Review
Form (MGM-2)

Identification & Placement Committee
Notifies School of Final Decision

If identified as 2%er, TJ or 3822:

Identification Report Form (MGM-1)
Parental Permission to Place in Program (MGM-4)
Record of Participation Form (MGM-3)
} Placed in Cum Folder

One copy of Identification Report Form to Programs for the Gifted
Cum Folder marked 2% in Red
Name of Student added to School Report (MGM-7)

SECTION I: INTRODUCTION

F. SCHEMATIC IDENTIFICATION PROCEDURES - ELEMENTARY

Recommendation from Principal, Teacher, Parent

↓

Classroom Teacher Fills Out Teachers Check List Form (MGM-6)

↓

Elementary Teacher Specialist Screens & Places Name in Rank Order

↓

Permission To Test Obtained by School From Parent (MGM-5E, C, SS)

↓

Pupil Interviewed and Tested by Psychometrist/Psychologist

↓

Results & Other Data to Identification & Placement Committee,
Programs for the Gifted

IDENTIFIED

Letter sent to Parent & School (MGM-16)
Identification Report Form Prepared by Programs for the Gifted (MGM-1)
Permission for Placement Letter Sent to Parent by Programs for the Gifted (MGM-16)

NOT IDENTIFIED

Letter sent to Parent & School (MGM-17 or MGM-14)

Copy of Identification Report Form in Students Cum Folder (MGM-1)
Parental Permission Letter in Students Cum Folder (MGM-16)
Cum Folder Marked 2% in Red
Name Added to School Roster EDP
Record of Participation (MGM-3)

SECTION II: STATE CRITERIA FOR IDENTIFICATION

A. MENTALLY GIFTED MINOR - Other than Culturally Different and Under-Achieving (Section 199.10)

The items studied by the committee shall include evidence described in Section 1 or 2 below:

1. INDIVIDUAL TESTS

For students K-12 a score is required at/or above the 98th percentile on a full scale individual intelligence test such as the Revised Stanford Binet, Form L-M or the Weschsler Intelligence Scale Revised (WISC-R).

2. GROUP TESTS

For pupils in grades 7 through 12, a score is required at/or above the 98th percentile in each of two tests administered while the pupil was enrolled in grade 7 or above and within 24 months of the date of identification.

The two required tests are:

a. A standardized full scale group test of mental ability.
b. A standardized test of one of the following:
   1. Reading Achievement
   2. Arithmetic Achievement
   3. Science Achievement
   4. Social Science Achievement

3. APPROVED GROUP TESTS

The following list of standardized group tests are approved for use in identifying mentally gifted minors as authorized in Section 199.11 (b) of Title 5, California Administrative Code. The most recent test and appropriate norm should be used. Any subtest of the following achievement test series may be used where appropriate.

a. Standarized full-scale group tests of mental ability:
   1. California Tests of Mental Maturity
   2. Henman-Nelson Tests of Mental Ability, Revised
   3. Lorge-Thorndike Intelligence Tests, Full-Scale
   4. SRA Tests of Educational Ability
   5. School and College Ability Tests
b. Standardized achievement test batteries:
   1. California Achievement Tests, 1957 Edition
   2. Sequential Tests of Educational Progress
   3. Iowa Tests of Basic Skills
   4. Stanford Achievement Tests
   5. SRA Achievement Tests
   6. Iowa Tests of Educational Development
   7. Cooperative English Tests, 1960
   8. Metropolitan Achievement Tests
   9. Tests of Academic Progress

SECTION II: STATE CRITERIA FOR IDENTIFICATION

3. APPROVED GROUP TEST CONT.

The aforementioned list of tests will be changed as other instruments are reviewed and approved.

The full-scale version of each test or subtest shall be administered. Reading, arithmetic, science, or social science achievement may be measured by any of the aforementioned instruments.

B. TEACHER JUDGMENT - TJ (Section 199.10)

The judgments made by teachers, psychologists, and administrators who are familiar with the demonstrated ability or potential of a pupil can be used to identify gifted pupils. The evidence used by the school committee should be forwarded to the Identification and Placement Committee of Programs for the Gifted for final review.

Supportive evidence should include achievement test scores and accomplishments which indicate that the student is a mentally gifted minor when making TJ referrals (Form MGM-2) to the Identification and Placement Committee of Programs for the Gifted.

The state limits the number of Teacher Judgments to not more than five percent (5%) of the pupils identified as 2% Mentally Gifted Minors.

C. CULTURALLY DIFFERENT, UNDERACHIEVING (Section 199.11 Paragraph 3822)

1. A culturally different, underachieving mentally gifted minor shall be identified by the committee as follows:
   a. CULTURALLY DIFFERENT - Pupils are identified through a study of all available and pertinent evidence of a child's language, through economic or environmental handicaps that have interfered with success in school, restricted the development of his intellectual and creative ability, and have prevented full development of his potential. The report of the committee shall specify the differences to which the pupil is subject.
   b. SCHOLASTICALLY UNDERACHIEVING - Pupils are identified by comparing their general intellectual capacity with achievement. Consideration should be given to each of the following:
      (1) The judgment of the committee, all concurring, that the pupil could achieve at the upper 2% level were it not for his cultural differences.
      (2) Test scores revealing discrepancies between general intellectual ability and achievement.
      (3) All pertinent school records.
2. The pupils who meet the criteria of a and b shall be identified as "culturally different mentally gifted" on the basis of the judgment of the committee that they may be expected within a reasonable time and with appropriate curricular modifications to perform in school at a level equivalent to that of a mentally gifted minor.

SECTION II: STATE CRITERA FOR IDENTIFICATION

C. CULTURALLY DIFFERENT, UNDERACHIEVING CONT.

The judgment shall be based upon one or more of the following:

a. Precocious development in pre-school or primary period or outstanding scholastic accomplishment at any point in the student's school career.

b. Unusual resourcefulness in coping with responsibilities, opportunities, deprivations, problems, obstacles, lack of structure and direction, or overly structured settings.

c. Outstanding achievements, skills or creative products.

d. Scores at or above 98th percentile on intelligence non-verbal (performance) scores of individual tests.

3. LIMITATIONS

The number of pupils identified under this section is limited to two percent (2%) of the culturally different pupils within the school district. All nominations for identification under this section must be forwarded to the Identification and Placement Committee of Programs for the Gifted.

SECTION III: PROCEDURES FOR IDENTIFICATION AND PLACEMENT

INITIAL NOMINATION

A. A pupil may be nominated by administrators, counselors, classroom teachers, and parents for identification as a mentally gifted minor. A pupil may be nominated for the reasons described in Section 1, 2, or 3 below:

1. A pupil whose achievement test scores and academic performances are superior.
2. A pupil who, were it not for a cultural difference, could achieve at the upper 2% level.
3. Talent (leadership, art, music, dance, drama, etc.)

B. Screening - Request for Testing

1. Elementary Level

   Whether recommended by the principal, teacher or parent, the classroom teacher fills out the Teacher's Checklist of Characteristics of gifted and talented children (MGM-6)

   The checklist and any other pertinent information which the teacher and the principal feel will be useful in the identification process are placed into the student's cum folder.

   The principal then prepares a list of students recommended for testing for the Teacher Specialist from Programs for the Gifted.

   The Teacher Specialist from Programs for the Gifted seeks further data, such as, achievement test scores, grades and anecdotal records on each student. He then puts the list in rank order and informs the principal when parental permission should be obtained for testing.

2. Secondary Level

   A pupil may be recommended for identification as gifted by an administrator, classroom teacher, counselor, or parent. The counselor or coordinator of gifted programs screens the cum folder and any other pertinent information concerning the pupil's progress and achievements. Parental permission must be obtained if additional intelligence testing is required. This data is then presented to the School Identification and Placement Committee for consideration.

C. Parental Permission for Testing

Parental permission must be obtained before an intelligence test is administered to a pupil. Sample letters are available from Programs for the Gifted and are printed in English, Spanish and Chinese. The signed letter should be placed in the student's cum folder. (Forms MGM-5E, 5C, 5S, and 5 Sec.)

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